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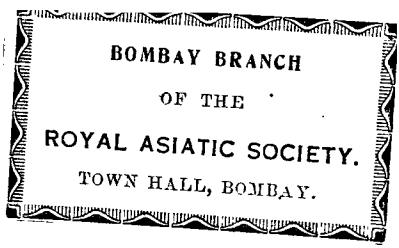

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THE

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH:

BEING

A HISTORY OF FRANCE

From the Beginning of the First French Revolution to the End of the Second Empire.

BY

HENRI VAN LAUN.

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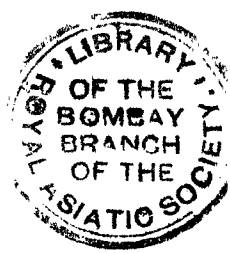

VOL. I.

9L4 f 2.6

CASSELL PETTER & GALPIN:
LONDON, PARIS & NEW YORK.

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1878

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PREFACE.

"The French Revolutionary Epoch" is an attempt to present to the general reader in a concise form a history of France from the beginning of the first French Revolution to the end of the second Empire. The work is chiefly based upon the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the *Histoire des Français*, by MM. Lavallée and Lock, though my introductory chapter and the second part of the first chapter are mainly summarised from M. Taine's admirable book on the *Ancien Régime*. I have also been much indebted to the works of Carlyle, de Goncourt, Michelet, Quinet, and other authors, who have all treated of the period which I endeavour to describe.

HENRI VAN LAUN.

London,
September, 1878.

To

DR. G. GRANVILLE BANTOCK

THIS WORK

Is affectionately inscribed.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I.—THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES.

In 1789 all authority, wealth, and privileges in France were in the hands of three classes of persons—the Clergy, the Nobles, and the King—to the utter spoliation of twenty-five millions of men, who tamely submitted, and had done so for more than a hundred and fifty years, because the ancestors of the three classes had earned these distinctions as a reward for services formerly rendered to the people.

For twelve centuries and upwards the Clergy had undoubtedly been the benefactors of the people by introducing the elements of peace into a society fraught with strife, and founded upon conquest. To the humble and oppressed they spoke of a better world to come, enjoining patience and resignation in this world; they built asylums for them, which in the course of time became the nucleus of a small or large community, protected against the rapacity and lust of fierce warrior-chief by the influence of the priest,

before whom the savage and brutal invader stood terror-stricken.

The priest did more than that. After having subdued the ferocious chieftain, he became his counsellor and friend, for the unlettered warrior could not use the pen, and required some one who could. This intimacy gave the priest an opportunity of accomplishing much good, of which he conscientiously availed himself, and nearly always in the interest of humanity. He repressed the brutal appetites of the flesh; he prevented the destruction of the remains of pagan literature, science, architecture, sculpture, and painting, and stored them in his convent and church. He organised a kind of primitive police, rude and intermittent, but still a powerful check upon the anarchy with which Europe was threatened. By working himself, during that part of the day which was not devoted to study, at those industries which provide men with the prime necessities of civilised life, he set an example to those idle and plundering wanderers, who gradually clustered permanently around his abode, and formed themselves into villages, where, sure of reaping the fruits of their toil, and thus of providing for their offspring, they became the first founders of the family institution.

Nor was this all. Much as the priest had done to improve the material condition of the people, its life was at best a hard unpoetic struggle for existence, unrelieved by the faintest gleam of present or prospective happiness in this world. "Hope, the last thing to

dies in man," could not even be born in a soil so uncongenial to its growth. Fortunately the clergy stepped in, and through their ministrations, cathedrals, and legends of saints, they rendered visible to man the "kingdom of God," and held up to him "an ideal world at the end of the actual world, like a magnificent golden pavilion at the end of a miry marsh."[1] Such were the services of the clergy for more than twelve hundred years, and how they were appreciated may be judged from the reward mankind bestowed upon them by allowing them, as it were, to become the veritable rulers of the civilised world.

For *they* were the true rulers, who by patience and persuasion provided the sole check to the sword and battle-axe. Every experiment to organise and consolidate a compact state was frustrated by the constant invasions, which after Charlemagne's death were attempted by bands of four or five hundred brigands, who robbed and killed in the absence of the regular troops, which had vanished with that monarch. The petty chieftain, provided he were strong enough, held the domain he occupied independently of, and mostly in defiance of, the King. It was his and his heirs' as long as he was capable of defending it for himself and those who lived on it. The validity of his title or his pedigree mattered little. He afforded security, and this was all-sufficient for those who enjoyed it.

[1] *L'Ancien Régime*, bk. i., ch. 1, by M. H. A. Taine, to whose book I am under great obligations for most of the facts contained in this Introduction.

He laid the second foundation of modern society by becoming the leader of troops he gathered round him, at first to defend his domain against nomadic invaders, later on to attack them. Little by little, through the respect that physical courage always inspires in primitive societies, there sprang up amongst these troops a feeling of hero-worship for their leader, which, being transmitted from father to son, created a bond between the chief and his supporters, and led at last to the formation of a local and resident corps of fighting men. Then the mutual obligations became clearly defined: the chief had to protect and maintain his supporters, and they had to give their lives for him in time of need. Such, in brief, was the feudal system.

Thanks to this system, the peasant, with his family and herds, lived in peace and security, and in return for such protection tilled the chieftain's ground, performed various other services, and likewise paid him certain taxes wherewith to maintain his troops. This contract, necessitated at first by mutual need between the peasant and the lord of the castle, became at last a recognised custom, which was scarcely ever transgressed by the latter through pride or greed. The conditions he prescribed to the vagabonds, or homeless wanderers, who sought temporary refuge, were harder. The soil which they tilled was his property, and they became his property also; their bondage was hereditary; they were scarcely treated as sentient, living beings, but rather as chattels.

Hard as these conditions were, the alternative of being homeless was harder still, and truth to tell, the noble was not too severe a taskmaster. He provided many advantages and corrected many abuses; he built the oven and the mill, and exterminated the wild beasts which threatened the serf with constant death. These acts of kindness and protection had their effect at last by binding villeins, serfs, townsmen, and lord into one common society, where each had his place distinctly mapped out. The love of country, so inherent in human nature, became intensified by being visibly embodied in the love for the lord and his family. In this way a right of succession was tacitly instituted in these small communities. It required but a man of vast ambition and tact to expand it still further, to weld these minor feudal patrimonies into a magnificent whole, and to erect upon the foundation laid by the nobles a structure henceforth called "sovereign rule."

Such a man was found in Hugues Capet (946–996), who laid the first stone of this building, which, continued by his successors, developed after eight hundred years into a State, numbering many millions, and then the most powerful in Europe. At the commencement at least, the King was the head, but not the possessor; for as yet royalty did not confer the right to a province, unless the monarch succeeded to that province by inheritance, or obtained it by conquest. He, as it were, was the chief of a federation, whose members had chosen him to organise the public defence, and to be their

leader in case of foreign invasion; but who still reserved to themselves an independent action within their own domains. This acknowledged supremacy in times of war entailed the granting or usurpation of equally supreme offices in times of peace. Gradually the King became the highest justiciary, the protector of the oppressed, the projector of all useful measures, the beneficent genius of the State. Not only did the nobles look upon him as their general, but the people regarded him as the father of France, anointed by God as such. This feeling lasted for centuries, despite the tyranny which he exercised on his subjects. The French had no greater reproach against the English than the beheading of Charles I.; their inviolable attachment, fidelity, and respect towards their own King being a feeling so deep-rooted that no excess or severity on his part could shake it. Even amidst the tumultuous passions of the beginning of the Revolution, this dogma of submission found its defenders amongst some of the most liberal-minded reformers. "The insurrection against Kings is a crime: when they are good, they are a present from heaven; when they are bad, they are a chastisement."[1] That these feelings, known to be part of the nation's very life, should be abused by the heads of the State, was not surprising. Power is like jealousy, "which doth mock the meat it feeds on." In the course of a few centuries, the ancient authority of the nobles was so curtailed, that formerly the King's

[1] Pernetty, quoted in Goncourt's *Histoire de la Société Française pendant la Révolution.*

uals, they were now dwarfed into mere officials, or urtiers. The dignitaries of the Church fared no tter. "I am the State," boldly asserted Louis XIV. nd it was no idle boast. Through his *intendants* gents) and sub-delegates he took cognisance and terfered in the smallest of local matters, and his cient rivals, in recompense for what had been taken m them, "in exchange for their mutilated and fast-ishing prerogatives, were silenced with possessions, munity from taxation, the bribes of vanity, consisting the semblance of local jurisdiction, added to his rks of personal favour and preference."

This was the position of the privileged classes and the King at the period of their fall, a position to be ell borne in mind in order to judge correctly of the rvices which they still rendered, of the advantages hich they still enjoyed, at the moment when the fabric hey had raised by the toil of many years was about o topple over, and bury them, for a time at least, eneath its ruins.

§ II.—THE BURDENS OF TAXATION.

In 1789, the approximate number of the privileged lasses in France is about 270,000, possessing three-fths of the territory, which territory is dispropor-ionately rich in comparison with the other two-fifths, r on it are situated the most imposing buildings, ontaining vast treasures of accumulated property in he shape of furniture and objects of art, the gathered masterpieces of centuries.

All this property is nearly totally exempt fro taxes. "Our Kings have fortunately declared thei selves impotent to make any attack on property Such was the answer of the Chancellor Séguier, whe in 1775, the abolition of feudal rights and the immuni from taxation were insisted upon. There are two pri cipal reasons why the nobles and clergy refuse to taxed and why the King is reluctant to tax them. T first is, that such a measure touches their pockets; second, strangely enough, but not the less true, is m powerful still, it touches their pride. The King h already sufficiently despoiled them, let him at least st the fiscal hand, and by passing their doors, marked by token, like those of the Hebrews in Egypt, show the to be a chosen people. Consequently no pretext is co sidered too mean to avoid that which in being enforce would place them in some measure on a level with th common herd. Still, sometimes they have to pay but care is taken that it shall be as little as possible, al their influence being brought to bear against an assess ment, which implies a certain equality with the lowe classes, and is absolutely repudiated, especially by the noble.

To the mere symbolical ceremonies of ancien feudality, to the honorary rights and official rank whic they enjoy, the privileged classes still cling tenaciously notably the clergy. In many places the bishop-prince are still attended by high officers, doing homage fo their fiefs at their coronations and obsequies. Many of the nobles own the monopoly of some of the most

nerous indirect imposts, which enable them to appear ith a pomp and a domestic ceremonial system, at ast equal to that of the sovereign.

Next to the noble of the highest class, with his almost yal belongings, comes the lord of the middle rank, who, though shorn of many of his privileges, still occupies most important position in the district surrounding his lomain. He controls the lay and sacerdotal concerns of he church which his ancestors have probably founded, and of which he remains the patron, appointing its icar, and regulating the hours of mass, claiming the ight of burial in the choir, so that when he dies his shes shall not mingle with those of the vulgar erd. Let us give an instance of this exclusiveness. A Marquis du Châtelet has a vertical hollow made or him in a pillar of the St. Nicholas Church at Neufchâteau. "I do not want every tatterdemalion to e marching on my stomach," explained he, when remonstrated with for this freak. Often the noble is the supreme judge in his district, in which case he appoints all the subordinate functionaries, to decide in his name criminal and civil suits at their first trial. He also takes care to maintain the means of enforcing such decisions by having within his castle a prison, nd sometimes a gibbet. Adding injury to insult, nd careful not to bear the expenses of the self-mposed judicial and executive functions, he repays imself by the confiscation of the goods of those ondemned to death, and with an eye ever open to he main chance of increasing his revenues, he claims

the reversion of property belonging to a bastard born within his domains, who dies childless or intestate, also that of a child legitimately born but dying intestate, or without apparent heirs. His are all movable objects animate or inanimate, of which the owner is unknown half of all treasure-trove, the whole of flotsam and jetsam, and all lands that have remained untilled for ten years. In addition to this, the lord levies numerous taxes for services formerly performed by him, but which duties he no longer discharges, or does discharge uninvited and against the wish of the people. Thus he exacts tolls for keeping in repair the oven the mill, the wine-press, the bridge, and the highway, which in olden times constructed as a boon to his poor dependents, he now makes a burden to them, inasmuch as he does not allow any one to compete with him; he fleeces his people by a system of monopolising the supply of things no longer wanted, or if wanted, obtainable at a tenth of the price he demands. In fact, the lord is loth to relinquish the relics of days when he was not only possessed of public authority, but also of the soil and the men on it, and, strange as it may appear, up to 1765 there were still a good many personal serfs, their own or their progenitors' gratitude having caused them to remain in that condition.

Sixteen years later Louis XVI. abolishes villeinage on his own domains, and his example is followed by many of his nobles, though, in truth, there is little difference between the lot of the emancipated peasant

l that of his brother still in servitude. For if the l is no longer master of his person and property, services and taxes he exacts from him effectually vent any increase of that property, nay, render it tremely difficult to retain the little the poor peasant ssesses.

As for the benefits the master confers in return for is spoliation, they are either null or valueless. In rmer times the advantages were mutual. He gave much as he received. When, with his troop of ained soldiers, he staved off every threatened or ssible danger, there was some reason for his extor- ns. There would be every reason for them now if, en his armed protection was no longer necessary, he d modified his guardianship, and employed it only the welfare of his humble dependents. The uire and noble have done so in England. There y possess a larger portion of the soil and the rity than their French neighbours; there they themselves visibly useful to, and consequently pected, by their tenants and labourers, formerly their ssals, but now free. In England, in the eighteenth tury, as in the present day, the noble proprietor and on, if not entirely resident on his property, lives e at least part of the year. He performs various s, voluntary it is true, but none the less valuable ppreciated. He administers local justice, interests lf in local affairs, and remains in constant com- cation, and even intimacy, with his neighbours, his s or inferiors. He busies himself sympathetically

with the poor, is their adviser and benefactor, secon
their efforts at moral, mental, and physical improveme
and thus, while no longer their warlike champion,
their peaceful ally and supporter, in a word "t
feudal chieftain of old has become the social leader
modern civilisation."

At the period of which we treat, such interest
the part of the noble for his rural and poor neighbou
did not exist in France, or was at least very exceptiona
For the last hundred years all sympathy between th
lord and his dependent, mostly born from daily contac
had died out. Nor was this neglect directly attrib
table to the former. To find out the cause of it,
must look higher up the social scale, to the Cou
itself. The personal splendour of Louis XIV. h
drawn all the great families to Paris. To obta
favours they had to be in the continual presence of t
sovereign, and consequently only the minor nobles, a
a small portion of the middle class of nobles, rema
on their domains. The clergy followed the bad exa
given them by the lords; the great ecclesiastical di
taries forsook the rural parts, and left them to t
priors and vicars. Those who remained behind w
sympathetic enough with the sufferings of the peas
"I have not found them," says M. Taine, "the r
tyrants which the declaimers of the Revolution por
them. Haughty with the *bourgeois*, they are gene
kind to the villager." They assisted as far as they
especially the monks, who, faithful to the fundam
doctrines of their institution, left no stone unturn

ate the wretchedness surrounding them. But they selves had a hard and continual struggle for pre- is existence, and though a common misery might them more sympathetic with the lot of the peasant, rial assistance was difficult, for they had scarcely ient for their own needs.

§ III.—THE DECADENCE OF THE NOBILITY.

is, however, a fact that the exactions which the lord demands, are the consequence of his own tunate circumstances, rather than the outcome of tary oppression. The centralisation of government he Crown, while usurping his power, has left is former rights, which enforced, press the more y upon the peasant, as the compensating influences ood are no longer his to bestow. The lord is as poor as the peasant, and his poverty is more g, because it is accompanied by a sense of injury to himself, and by the knowledge that he t, as the peasant, improve his position either by ation or by toil, from which latter alternative hrinks as unworthy of and derogatory to his ge. Everything contributes to drag him down, especially the right of primogeniture, by which elder son receives two-thirds of the estate, the nder to be shared between the younger sons. remainder often dwindles down to a pigeon, a t, or a fowling-piece! Averse to retrieve his fallen nes by commerce or a profession, the noble becomes se, and isolates himself in his ruined castle, gives

way to drink and the lowest dissipation, and s
at his empty title-deeds, which prevent a vig
effort on his part, nay, in the bitter satire o
lacerated pride, "covering his butter-pots with t
There is but one other way open to him to escap
impending ruin: he must go to Court, and try to
up some sinecure. But to do this requires pat
and, above all, some ready money, for there
thousand candidates for every post; so he must
his chance with the rest, and keep up a c
appearance while waiting. Accordingly he runs
debt, and parts with all his property save the
leges of his title, by which he exacts the dues fr
peasants, and which are the only means of his su
However burthensome he knows them to be, he
remit them, for the fundamental principle of
self—comes into play and makes him, the er
protector and patron of feudal times, simply
peasant's creditor. Monarchy is to blame for
but the peasant does not argue so logically, and
ceives a blind hatred for the master who exacts w
conferring anything in return; who has to be supp
by the sweat of the peasant's brow, because
are in the noble's turret archives, a rent-roll
pedigrees which proclaim the despoiler to be of an
race than the despoiled. The hatred bred by
condition of affairs may be sufficiently imagined wi
being described.

It is worse still where the lord is an absente
then there are none of the counteracting influ

of personal intercourse, none of the alleviation produced by the moneys, however little, expended in the neighbourhood, none of the goodwill shown in the intercession for the poor peasant with the tax-collector or agent of the Government. But, alas! the noble has no inducement to remain on his domain. His stay is a daily hourly irritation to himself. Everything in which wont to interest himself is taken in hand by the ent official, with whom he cannot well co-operate oss of dignity. Besides, as every one else has ourt, why should he lag behind, a prey to enerilness? The fashionable world of the eighteenth did not love the country. Man, as a rule, is r that which is beyond his reach. To love the rests, and streams, one must be somewhat tired own. But from the sixteenth to the middle hteenth centuries, society and the world were as yet too new and too sparsely enjoyed to berisome already; hence town life was preferred y existence. Add to this that there was no n to the noble of which the intermediate path ie through the Court. Louis XIV. scarcely ged any loyalty unless it were shown by an essant attendance at Court, and his successors is example. Absence from the royal gatheraccounted as a personal slight, and as the the custodian of every preferment, and to unlock his storehouses save to those can- who *came themselves, the* pretext to leave eerless and often dilapidated castle was eagerly

embraced, the more so as Versailles, Fontainebleau, and Paris were agreeable and charming. The country became a desert. "There is not in the kingdom," says the father of the great Mirabeau, "a single estate of any size whose proprietor is not in Paris, and who, in consequence, neglects his buildings and *châteaux*." "Out of sight, out of mind" absence of the nobles bred indifference to th pendents, and with perhaps half a dozen ex there was not a lord of any importance mained on his estates. Nor was his property, might be its territorial extent, materially by his presence. Three-fourths of the land la or was untilled altogether. The part which tivated by the peasant brought the labourer food to eat, for dues and taxes swallowed results. In order to keep up his luxurio lishments in town, the noble harassed his funds, and the agent had no resource but the peasant in return. If the proprietor the misery he might relax his lavishness, bu saw it, and the steward was too polite to naked truth. The upper clergy were in no considerate. They took two-thirds of th and left a third to the monastic abode and i who laid it out in improvements and in alle sufferings of the rural population. But allotted to the bishops was spent in riot and the officiating curates received hardly enough t body and soul together, while more often the pe

and powdered ecclesiastics, in order to save trouble and to increase their incomes, farmed their properties to some unscrupulous agent, who screwed the last coin out of the wretched peasant. "The contractor," says Renauldon, a writer of the period, "is a ravenous wolf let loose on the estate, who draws upon it to the last *sou*, who crushes the subjects, reduces them to beggary, compels the cultivators to desert, and renders odious the master who finds himself obliged to tolerate his exactions in order to profit by them." The noble himself, though probably opposed to the harsh and inhumane measures of his administrator, was obliged to tolerate them, for he was too much in the latter's debt to make removal possible. And this was the case with nearly all lords, from the highest to the lowest. Their expenditure was at every means, foul or fair, had to be resorted meet it. They literally killed the goose with en eggs by selling the places at their disposal, g their authority, delegating the meanest offices domestics, while they took the profits. The y of the law was multiplied a thousandfold, to suck the last drop of the peasant's blood.

e offensive still was the noble's personal juris- when he was sufficiently interested in it to me of the rights appertaining to it. One of ghts, the most onerous perhaps of all, was the t enforcement of the game laws, with all their exations. It has been graphically said, "The ther hunts too much or too little." In the se he and his followers on horseback destroy

the crops and vines; in the other, the deer, stags, and other game eat them up. And no one else must hunt but he, for it would be usurping a pastime which was still an outward sign of his caste. When the peasantry encounter a herd of deer, they shout, "There goes the nobility," for the human biped and the animal quadruped are identical in their minds, as both equally destroy the fruits of their labour.

§ IV.—THE EXACTIONS OF THE NOBILITY.

Numerous as are the exactions of the nobles and clergy from the people, they are simply direct contributions imposed upon them, and in no way to be compared with what the nobility and clergy exact from the King, who, to satisfy their claims, must in turn tax the same source; so that in reality people pay twice over for services which are not rendered. These direct taxes are, so to speak, acknowledgment of the nobles having formerly ranged themselves with and protected the lower classes against the encroachments of the King; what they receive from the sovereign is in acknowledgment of having ranged themselves with him against the people. None of these obligations is now incurred. There are no States-General in which the nobles might be represented, for such an assembly has not been convened for many years, and the monarch is in reality the only representative of the country. The part the nobility and clergy take in the provincial Parliaments is not even a negative use, for, like all local bodies, these Parlia-

protect vested interests to the detriment of the commonwealth.

The Assembly of the Clergy, an instrument in the hands of the Government, when it is not engaged upon political questions, devotes all its energy and cunning to escape from the fiscal burdens, to maintain the monopolies and privileges of its members, and to institute vexatious and religious persecutions, all tending to the preservation of their order, but the reverse of beneficial to the nation at large. The nobles are no less self-seeking. They do not work in a body; consequently the cunning which is often disguised in a public assembly, or else counteracted by the schemes of others, has free vent in secret, and each plots and intrigues on his own behalf. In one thing they are agreed and combine, to keep the plebeian and even the minor noble from the fat sinecures and high offices. Every office likely to yield money, without being required in return, is absorbed by the nobles and clergy. When the work cannot be shirked, it is delegated to a nominee, who is as rapacious as his master, and who, unable to fill his pockets with the crumbs that fall from the lord's table, lays hands on the hard and dry crust of the poor peasant.

But the peasant is not the only one to suffer; the rural nobles, who are outside the immediate court circle, stand Lazarus-like in the cold while the Dives are warming themselves near the blazing fire of royal favour. Lazarus-like they revolt in silence, and Dives-like again the others resent the

presumption, and deny to them even the right o
cavilling. Hence there is a steady hatred growin
between these two species of the same genus, and t
satisfy this hatred the wronged or imaginary wronge
will evoke the aid of those beneath them when th
time for indulging it arrives. Many aristocrats
their weariness and contempt of the Court party becon
democrats in the end.

Among the minor clergy a similar sentiment
discontent prevails against those above them. Drav
from the lowest classes of civil society, excluded
their plebeian origin from any of the higher offic
they are not only hard worked and worse paid, b
their very position is rendered more difficult by t
exactions they are compelled to enforce from the peo
to which they belong. If they do not act thus, th
are crushed by those who are their superiors in
ecclesiastical hierarchy, and who hold them in
greatest contempt. If we would arrive at a
estimate of their lot, let us read Voltaire's art
"The Country Vicar," in the *Dictionnaire Philosophi*
which gives a true but harrowing picture of the sta
ling priest, condemned to support himself on an inc
which, even after thirty years of attempted refor
barely sufficient to provide him with daily bread.
added to the priest's bodily misery there is the phy
irritation of seeing a wretchedness around him w
he is unable to assuage, and standing out in
contrast with the lavish splendour of the epis
palace, perhaps a mile or so distant, the inma

which spends a mere trifle in charity to assist those whom he ruthlessly despoils. It is scarcely surprising that when the time for retaliation comes the lower clergy will remember their misery, and be among the foremost and most violent to demand a terrible account of their unfaithful superiors.

§ V.—THE IRRESPONSIBLE KING.

We have now to consider the most privileged person, the King, in relation to his hereditary nobles and to the nation at large. His office is not a sinecure; on the contrary, it demands a great amount of labour and tact, for it is irresponsible. In his hands are all e threads by which the great machinery of the State ed. For centralisation, far from being the e of the Revolution, as supposed by many, is ity the great prerogative of absolute monarchy. ole business of the nation is directed from Paris King's council, with subordinate councils in e provinces, all acting under a system which he villages and small towns "simply so many erations of huts or houses, with inhabitants as nd indifferent as the buildings they live in." stem can best be described by a comparison the principle of building a ship in present and er times. The way in which a vessel is con- in our days provides for the possibility of one it being damaged without entailing the collapse whole. This is local independent self-government. n former times when the old-fashioned ship sprung

a leak, it was disabled at once, and unless the pumps were set a-going, it sank. This is centralisation, or rather bureaucracy; which controls the uttermost as well as the nearest points without power of appeal, and which, when once damaged, destroys the whole State. But centralisation also means something more; it means arbitrary conduct and nepotism, when removed from the centre, and uncontrolled by the master's eye. It requires superhuman energy on the part of one man adequately to manage such a machine, and as the successors of Louis XIV. are not endowed with such energy, the ship of State is gradually breaking up, until at last it sinks; the crew, as is often seen when a dire catastrophe is pending, wasting the ship's sub- stance in riot, or else stowing it in some small "making snug," as it were, for the contingency.

Truth to tell, Louis XVI. tries for some t reduce the machine to manageable proportio the mischief has gone too far, and he still France too much as his own property, in w nobles have a certain interest, but of whic free to spend the residuary revenues at his p The hint at a civil list is regarded as an Amidst the greatest financial distress, money spent lavishly upon unnecessary, frivolous purs quently injurious to public morals, and to the w the commonwealth. It would be impossible to the pomp of the King and his courtiers, as the exactions by which that pomp is maintained. largess of the sovereign to his favourites, mal

female, deprives thousands of peasants, already miserable enough, of the first necessities of life.

In short, the great disease of France is directly traceable to the ever-open wound of prodigality at the centre, which absorbs the healthiest life-blood, sending back a corrupted black stream, and polluting every limb of the kingdom. When exacting their dues, the King and nobles never for an instant forget the fact that they are public men, in their misapplication of them they never for an instant remember it.

§ VI.—THE PEOPLE.

How do the people bear all these privations, ex-tions, and tyranny?

Exactly a century before the outbreak of the Revo- La Bruyère wrote the following lines:—"Certain ooking beings, male and female, are seen in ntry, black, livid, and sunburnt, and belonging soil which they dig and grub with invincible ness. They seem capable of articulation, and ey stand erect they display human lineaments. , in fact, men. They retire at night into their here they live on black bread, water, and roots. pare other human beings the trouble of sowing, ng, and reaping, and thus should not be in want bread they have planted." The picture is not wn. The peasant is poor, wretchedly poor, but s something immeasurably worse in his condition. s no wish to improve it, for the least sign of se in his comforts would bring down upon him

a set of harpies, in the guise of excise officers, to tax him tenfold in proportion to the visible sign of his dawning prosperity. Rousseau, in his *Confessions*, and many contemporary writers tell stories in illustration of this, which would be positively amusing, were they not so harrowing. The peasant dare not eat the bread he has earned by the sweat of his brow, and can only avoid being ruined by imitating a misery similar to that around him. Every now and then whole districts are decimated by famine, and this owing to inadequate cultivation as much as to a visitation from nature. He who should be fortunate enough to get hold of a loaf of bread runs the risk of being assassinated in the day-time on the open highway. A instead of alleviating the misery, the nobles advantage of a recent edict, permitting them to in commerce without derogating from their and forestall all cargoes of grain, Louis XV. joining this monstrous association—called the Pact—with a capital of ten millions.[1] Still the tion for unpaid taxes goes on with unexampled and everything belonging to the poor is seized the latches on their doors. There is no bread except that made of damaged flour, which burn baking. When there are bread riots, the rin are caught and hanged, and their followers sh in the streets, without the doubtful honour o distinguished by separate extermination.

Misery and famine, the companions of the

[1] Hippolyte Magen, *Histoire Populaire de la Révolution Fran*

lector's seizures, go on for years, increasing instead of diminishing. Woe to the rural community, or to the individual rustic, who either by superior energy or by a favourable chance succeeds in rising above the iron fortune of his fellow-peasants! He or it becomes at once a prey to the lynx-eyed assessor of taxes, who overlooks nothing. One of these collectors, in making his report, writes as follows:—"I have noticed that the peasants are stouter here than elsewhere, and that they had chicken feathers before their doors. The living here must be good, and everybody must, therefore, be doing well." This might simply be taken as the joy of one man at the prosperity of his neighbour; unfortunately the next line spoils it all, for it is that in this particular village "the taxes will be increased this year." Marriage is declining, emigration sets in. Those people who remain shirk work; and if a benevolent nobleman finds them some, they are too weak from want of decent food to use their arms. The country gets abandoned, the towns overpopulated; for, as may be imagined, a peasant without money, without friends, cannot get far. Paris and the great provincial centres are filled with beggars, people from the country, whom the persecutions of the tax-collectors have driven into the cities for refuge. Thousands of silk-workers have to be watched, lest they might go abroad, and carry their industry and the secrets of their trade with them; and yet there is no work for them in Lyons or elsewhere. Wholesale stagnation is the rule. In the

beginning of the year 1753, over eight hundred persons die of cold and hunger in Paris, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, during one month, though under the new King the agents of the Government are more humane. During several years, there are frequent bread riots throughout France. In the provinces the misery is still more intense than in Paris; entire districts subsisting wholly on buckwheat and water, the apple crop having failed. In other parts of the country the inhabitants burn their furniture for fuel. And still the taxes are enforced, and the tillers of the soil, and even the petty farmers, have not a penny for themselves.

This is as yet the state of the people under
nary circumstances; but should some acciden
a severe frost, a hail-storm, an inundation
then whole provinces are paralysed for mon
for a year, and their only chance of life is b
succour from the King, who is the universal
The entire country may be said to be perpetuall
high-water mark of starvation, the least breath
causing an additional tide which overwhelms it.
and a fresh spirit of humanity in vain ende
provide an artificial barrier, for that also is eng
the shifting sand. The entire lake must be d
afresh, and a stabler foundation and adequate
provided.

For many years the question is on every one's
to the cause of all this misery. Why should Franc
a soil as rich, if not richer than that of most co

k bread for those who grow the grain? Unfortunately se who ask the question are unwilling to accept the which accuses them—and scarcely any one but as being the cause of this misery. Hundreds of nd thousands of acres, lie uncultivated. In is ascribed to sterility; sterility has nothing r to do with it. This ruinous condition is uence of the exactions which the nobles ed upon the plebeian proprietors. We have the necessity and attractions which drive e Court. The country, formerly smiling with the boisterous sport and peaceful an and plebeian alike, is now a desert, poor farmers and tillers of the ground, haggard with care, and only staying in their ace because the law forbids them to take their with them on removal. The scanty toil is ficient for their subsistence. Nor can they r pay the same taxes which they contributed ; for the value of their property has decreased, taxes have increased. Every available penny is l up, leaving nothing wherewith to buy implements, and by this means to stave off g ruin. Those who bought a few acres and o merely rent their patch of soil are in similar ns. Arthur Young, an Englishman, travelling through France, gives it as his opinion that ure had not progressed there beyond the primitive the tenth century. Except in a few favoured es, the fields lie fallow one year out of three,

and when they are cultivated the system is so in
adequate that the smallest yield is barely produc
Means of locomotion there are none, or scarcel
consequently each district has either to consu
own surplus, if surplus there be, while accidental
cannot be supplied by a neighbouring provinc
failure of a crop entails the direst calamiti
injures the present and jeopardises the fut
occupants of the land, too poor to purchas
obliged to have recourse to the intenda
their lands remain untilled, in which cas
of the current year would be followed
next." France seems a doomed country, fo
of small-pox (which causes one out of every
is added endemic starvation. Gradually th
entirely unoccupied, or else occupied by small
or *métayers*, who bring nothing to it but a pair
and thus the proprietor has to provide everyth
to the food of the cultivator, and to wait unti
crop comes in, when he divides the produce
tenant. This same system is continued for seve
for the yield is never sufficiently large to put s
aside. But the proprietor, if at all human
alternative; for the peasants, if left to themselv
die of starvation. As it is, when their taxes
each has no more than twenty-five or thirty fran
with to exist during the year, and this "not i
but in kind, out of the crops they produce." The
traveller already quoted gives us also a pictur
small proprietary husbandman — one whose

consists of a trifling patch of ground, with a cow and a wretched little horse, and whose misery equals, if it does not surpass, that of the *métayer*, because to it is added the daily fear of losing the little he has got. But it will be asked, "How does he come to have land and a cow and a horse at all?" To his neighbours this may appear puzzling; it is clear enough to those who have watched now for more than a century the tenacious economy of the French husbandman, by which he scrapes together *sou* by *sou*, to indulge in his hereditary passion for property, and especially that of the soil. We may be sure that the peasant, who hides his wine and bread, hides something else besides. Submitting to every privation, he manages to scrape a small sum together; and when the noble, pressed for money, reluctantly consents to part with a little piece of land, the peasant is at hand with his hoard. Often this small corner is no more than waste land; if so the Government helps the proprietor by a recent edict, which enacts that cleared waste land remains free of taxes years. What effect this has, may be seen ct that in three years more than four hun- and acres are cleared. Towards 1789, the old already a third of the kingdom.

torship, however, if it affects the peasant's all, affects it for the worse. Before he is little property the greatest evil that could was to have his life embittered by tax- ns; but now the collectors have a tangible him, because they are peasants, like himself,

and probably his neighbours, and know exactly what he is worth. On an average he has to pay half of his income in taxes.

The tax is somewhat like an elephant's trunk—while it picks up the heaviest contributions, it does not disdain to catch at the smallest fraction at the same time. The shifting and even homeless population is laid under contribution just as well as those persons who are possessed of property. Strict measures are carried out by the most iniquitous system; and these, above all in the rural districts, make of the tax-payer a victim and an oppressor in turns. The peasants themselves are employed, under the direction of a higher authority, to levy taxes upon their fellow-peasants. Each has to perform the office in turn, and if he cannot spare the time he must delegate his wife or his grown-up daughter. If they refuse to submit they are imprisoned; if they submit they are answerable with their pos[illegible]ssions and bodies for any shortcomings in the returns [illegible] whether these shortcomings are beyond the[illegible] not. It is the fable of the wolf and the [illegible] latter has to be eaten for his own faults or [illegible] his neighbours. Again, from a mistaken [illegible] rather from an instinct of self-preservation, t[illegible] prefers to let matters take their course; [illegible] submits to any kind of prosecution, thoug[illegible] have the money, because he knows that [illegible] readily it would bring an increase of taxes [illegible] The tax-collector and his bailiffs do not at a[illegible] to this, for it brings grist to their mills in

of fees. Even the peasant's salt is taxed; and not only that, but he is bound to take a certain quantity every year, which he may not use except under prescribed conditions. One example will suffice. Should he buy some salt for his soup, and economise part of it to pickle a piece of pork, the tax-collectors are down upon him. His pork is confiscated, and the fine is three hundred francs. The salt must be used for the purpose it was bought for. Should he take a pail of sea-water to boil down its brine, he incurs a fine of forty francs. Similar restrictions exist with regard to wine, which in cost of transport and duties increases to fifty times its value, consequently "wine-growing and misery become synonymous terms."

Meanwhile the nobles and clergy, either by subter-

ege, escape taxation altogether, so that the
aintaining the public institutions of the
ntirely upon the Third Estate. Where
leans cannot be resorted to, the privileged
ess than half what they should pay. The
ns attempt the same thing by becoming
ttached in some official way to a great lord,
y enjoys exemption from taxes, but extends
e to all those employed by him in a private
apacity. In this way the "fiscal system is
h a net as a trap; the small fry are caught,
big ones escape, their very size forewarning
o enter."

my itself gets disaffected, the soldiers are badly
ed; for them there is no hope of promotion,

and, therefore, they hate the service. Only the very poorest classes and the sweepings of the jails enlist, and they desert whenever they can find an opportunity. Thus, when the dykes which preserve society are partially swept away by the revolutionary torrent, there is not even an army to protect the well-affected against the inroad of social outcasts and sanguinary idealists.

Such was the state of France when Louis XVI. ascended the throne—peculation, bankruptcy, and discontent everywhere, from the highest to the lowest round of the social ladder.

Book I.

THE GATHERING OF THE STORM.

CHAPTER I.

§ I.—THE FINANCES.

(*From 10th of May, 1774, to 4th of November, 1783.*)

THE mortal who would aspire to the cleansing of the Augean stables can ensure perfect success under one condition only, that of previously removing every obstacle likely to impede or divert the Alphean stream. He must let no superannuated bulls or indolent herdsmen remain, on the plea that the first was reared there, that the second had helped to build the place, that it had sheltered them for years, that it was partly their own. If they move not, the spot they occupy will continue to be foul and corrupt, for the purifying waters will not be allowed free course, and the stercoraceous deposits spared by privilege will go on infecting what was made fresh and sweet, thus needlessly multiplying the labour involved in the undertaking.

No Hercules, however, either in aspiration or energy, is Louis XVI. (born August 23rd, 1754; ascended the throne May 10th, 1774), yclept the Desired, at best but an amateur Vulcan, with a taste for lock-making, and, like the lame god of Lemnos, hoodwinked and browbeaten by his spouse (Marie Antoinette, born November

2nd, 1755; married May 16th, 1770). A twenty-year-old King, or semblance of a King, amply provided with those good intentions commonly supposed to be employed in the making of a highway to perdition; this and nothing more is Louis XVI.

His predecessor is dead, and with him have retired into limbo debauch and profligacy, sent thither by a Court which resolves to live henceforth cleanly, decently, and sparingly, for the treasury is empty, gutted by the Pompadours, the Du Barrys, and their satellites. Above all, they must live sparingly, for the twenty-four million and a half of toilers are beginning to grumble at the half million of idlers who grow fat in proportion as the others grow lean.

In such an emergency of impending bankruptcy the poor King called to the helm of the state John Frederick Phelippeaux, Count de Maurepas (1701–1781), who was a man of infinite humour, and one who saw everything rose colour, but whose claims to be a statesman can scarcely be seriously considered. The only merit he had lay in the fact that he was in disgrace during the reign of Louis XV. for having too violently opposed the schemes of Madame de Pompadour.

As the homœopath is called in after the allopath has failed, not on account of the patient's trust in the former's superior skill, but because he has been abused by the latter, so for a like reason was this aged Maurepas appointed the prime mover of the Government of France.

Yet government or politics France, at this mo-

ment, had none; or, perhaps, too much. "Nowadays," sneers *l'Echappé du Palais* (the Palace Eavesdropper), "the whole of the fair sex are politicians, dream of nothing but politics, turn everything into politics; the lady's maid argues as glibly upon them as her mistress."

However, Maurepas was there, and with him the Keeper of the Seals, Miroménil, the minister of War St. Germain, the hero of Rosbach and Minden, the naval lord Sartine, the foreign secretary de Vergennes, and, at the post of honour and danger, leading the forlorn hope of finances, Turgot (1727–1781), the disciple of Rousseau, and *facile princeps* of economists.

Anne Robert Turgot will fill the exhausted cash-box, and will endeavour to perform the miracle of producing water from the rock, if such as he can perform a miracle at all, for people say that he never goes to mass. Perhaps liberal France likes him all the better for that. The greatest scoundrel that ever wielded the helm of state, the profligate, bankrupt, facetious Abbé Terray did, who answered the cries of a hungry nation by, "Let us close our ears, we must not prevent those whom we are flaying from crying out." At all events, Turgot, the man with the brain of a Bacon and the heart of a Chancellor de L'Hôpital," is regarded as the likely saviour of France. His fame had preceded him, and this led people to expect a renewal of administrative marvels, such as his intendantship of Limoges brought to light. If regeneration without a revolution had been possible for France, Turgot would

have accomplished it. Plans vast and numerous comprising everything the Revolution afterwards effected, were incubated: the abolition of feudal rights, of labouring upon the highways, vexatious restrictions of the salt system, interior imposts, liberty of conscience and of the press, unfettered commerce and industry, disestablishment of the monastic orders, revision of the criminal and civil codes, uniformity of weights and measures, and many others.

All these Turgot submits to Maurepas, who cannot understand them; and to the King, who, appalled at the monstrous innovations, pleads for time, and in the meanwhile amuses himself in his private rooms with a little locksmith work. The nobles, horror-stricken, refuse also to listen to him, bring forward their ancient privileges and vested interests, and, at their wit's ends, bestir themselves to have Parliament convoked (November 12th), thinking that this traditional institution will not only protect their interests, but prop the overtoppling social fabric for a time. A vain delusion! Parliament did the very contrary.

When a reform has become necessary, and the hour of its accomplishment has struck, nothing can prevent it, while almost everything serves its purpose. Thus it was that the convocation of the States-General caused all the subsequent disasters.

The French monarchy had, from its very first establishment, neither a definite form nor a fixed and recognised right. Under the first races, the Crown was elective, the nation's was the supreme will, and the

King was simply the military chief, guided by the communal deliberations in his decisions and war enterprises. The nation elected her chief, she wielded her legislative powers under the presidency of the King, and dispensed justice in courts directed by one of her officers. During the feudal *régime* this royal democracy was displaced by a royal aristocracy. Personal sovereignty gained the ascendant in the hands of the noblemen who robbed the people of it, as they in their turn will be robbed by the prince. By this time (987) monarchy had become hereditary, and the King was possessor of a fief, transmitted from father to son; the legislative authority still belonged to the nobles on their vast territories or in the Parliaments of the barons, and the judiciary power to the vassals within the seigniorial limits. Gradually supreme authority became more and more concentrated, was vested in one individual. For centuries Kings had undermined the feudal structure, own fabric upon its ruin, left half stand- took possession of the fiefs, subjected pressed the Parliaments of the barons, subordinated seigniorial justiceships, arro- emselves the legislative power, whilst judicial practised for their benefit in a Parliament of

tates-General, convoked by them, when in ed of subsidies, and which were made up rders, the clergy, nobility, and Third Estate, a regular existence. Called into being during ition period of the royal prerogative, they were

at first dominated, afterwards entirely suppressed. The obdurate resistance to the King's schemes of aggrandisement emanated less from these assemblies—whose rights were always arbitrarily dealt with—than from the nobles, who fought desperately at first for their own sovereign power, then for political importance. The last of these periodical armed outbursts of the aristocracy was the Fronde. Anne of Austria, then Regent of France, aided by Cardinal Mazarin, crushed it so effectually, that Louis XIV. on his accession found the way paved for an absolute monarchy.

From Louis XIV. up to the Revolution the system was arbitrary rather than despotic. The Crown could dispose of persons by *lettres-de-cachet*,[1] of property by confiscation, of revenue by imposts. Certain bodies possessed means of defence called privileges, if they had been respected. Parliament had the right [illegible] or refusing to grant taxes, but the Kin[illegible] registration of his edicts by a bed of just[illegible] refractory members into exile. Certain pre[illegible] longed to the nobles and clergy, and to [illegible] which paid a regular invariable tax, but the[illegible] to the advantage of the privileged classes an[illegible] triment of the people.

Under Louis XIV. Parliament, hitherto [illegible]

[1] A *lettre-de-cachet* was an arbitrary warrant of impris[illegible] and sealed with the King's *cachet*, or seal. These warran[illegible] abused.

[2] A bed of justice, in French *Lit de justice*, was lite[illegible] occupied by the King when he attended Parliament; but n[illegible] session of that body at which the King was present, when [illegible] measures which could not be discussed, but had force of law at

[redacted]ment of the Crown, aspired to become its counterweight. The monarch condemned it to a silence and inactivity of sixty years. The sighs of France were drowned beneath the chants of victory. Literature was but one interrupted eulogy on the King, its most liberal patron, but when the hymns of praise were exhausted discussion commenced, and the Grand Monarch's death became the signal of a reaction, in which the philosophers of the eighteenth century succeeded the purely literary men of the seventeenth. Everything was made the object of their researches and reflections—government, laws, religion, abuses; a public opinion was formed, which the indifference of the Regency and the indolence and apathy of the succeeding reign were powerless to smother either in or out of Parliament. Unable to coerce Parliament, the Chancellor Maupeou undertook to disband it (April 15th, 1771), and to substitute for it an assembly devoted to the King, and this in Paris, as well as throughout the provinces.

But this time arbitrary proceedings met not with the same success. A new power had arisen—that of the mind—which, though unrecognised, was nevertheless none the less influential, and whose effusions began to be eagerly listened to. The nation, until now dumb, inert, was gradually claiming her prerogatives. She did not partake in the government as yet, but she was acting upon it. Such is the march of all nascent power; previous to being admitted to rule, it influences from the outside, co-operation follows control. The hour had struck when the Third Estate was to take its share in the adminis-

tration of the country. The very poverty of the rural classes had contributed to the increased wealth of the middle class; their enlightenment and consequent social importance had grown day by day. Their former attempts were fruitless, because premature; they had nothing of that superiority which compels consideration. They had played subordinate parts in all insurrections and States-General; much was accomplished through them, nothing for them. Under feudal tyranny they had served the Kings against the nobles; under the fiscal and ministerial despotisms they had served the nobles against the King; but in no case were they more than the tools of the crown or the aristocracy. The struggle was waged in a sphere and for interests that were not theirs. On the definite overthrow of the nobles in the Fronde, the Third Estate laid down its arms, which proved how secondary was its part. When, after a century of absolute submission, the Third Estate was about to re-appear in the arena, they promised themselves to effect something in their own interest. The nobles were powerless to raise themselves from the crushing defeat inflicted upon them by Louis XIV. Henceforth the Court would have a different antagonist; Parliament would no longer form a class, but a body, and in this new struggle they had everything to gain—nothing to lose.

With such dispositions, then, the first Parliament under Louis XVI. is convoked, the Third Estate as yet "feeling its feet," leaving the clergy and the nobility to battle for themselves. These two classes do not prove

support of society in general, the defenders of the public liberty, but simply the adversaries of royalty, and the protectors of their own privileges. To them Turgot, with honest, straightforward eloquence, unfolds his scheme. "No bankruptcy, no increase of impost, no loans!" To which are added, "Free trade in corn, the abolition of guilds, and last, but not least, equality of territorial imposts for all."

What matters it to them that in less than two years, with provisional measures of this kind, he has paid twenty-four million francs to the public creditors, redeemed twenty-eight millions of anticipated, forestalled moneys, and, moreover, discharged fifty millions of debts? Let him do so again, but not ask them to abate one iota of their privileges. They refuse to be taxed like the common herd; they consider such a demand preposterous, and flatly decline to listen to it.

Meanwhile, Maurepas grows jealous at the influence of Turgot with the King; the Court frowns at the proposed retrenchment of the civil list, whose thirty-one millions of francs are so insufficient, that royalty is nearly three years behind with its payments, seven years in times of war. Of the latter they will not speak. Are not the halcyon days of peace now to last for ever if they can help it? Is not promotion easier gained in the drawing-room than won at the point of the sword? "If my officers are no longer of use to me, I am sure I am of use to them," Louis XV. had said, and so it shall be still. Is not it deplorable enough that the King himself

retrenches, that the splendid daily dinners [illegible] have dwindled down to one weekly, where the courtiers present themselves in boots, not, as formerly, in silks, and laces, and furbelows, and surrounded by pages and equerries? Is not it enough that etiquette should be trodden under foot by the Queen, "much more of a woman than of a Queen," derisively sneers a courtier; that the old and honoured names should not inspire her with awe; that she will take no trouble to be bored to death, preferring the light and gay society of the Chevalier de Luxembourg, firing his dry jokes, and of the brilliant Duc de Lauzun, who, "incapable of being heroic, becomes romantic"? No, the Court will not tolerate these innovations. A conspiracy is formed against Turgot, which will eventually oblige him to retire. The King can but assent, and finally does so, notwithstanding his written assurance of but a few weeks ago, "There is none but you and I that love the people."

Love them they may, the weak-minded but well-meaning King and the honest, nay, heroic Turgot, but these two, amidst a set of pampered courtiers, cannot prevent their starvation. In vain has the Controller-General Turgot hurried on the edict abolishing the monopoly in the grain trade, in vain has he taken his precautions against the manœuvring of the Famine Pact; he knew not the power of this vile association, which was reared on a foundation of the bleached bones of a population perishing with hunger. "Bread; give us bread!" is the cry; but echo answers, "There is

...cast for you." "Is it not horrible," exclaims a fly-sheet of the day; "is it not horrible that at this moment, when the harvesting is done, when there is corn in plenty, when the mills never cease to grind, and can manufacture in four-and-twenty hours sufficient meal to last us for two days, the bakers' shops should either be shut or empty at four o'clock in the afternoon, when there ought to be bread up till eleven at night?" "What is the price of bread?" a stranger asks of a working man's wife. "Three francs twelve *sous* the quartern," is the answer, and the explanation follows immediately. "The price is fixed at twelve *sous*, but it is not to be had. My husband is obliged to pass a whole day at the door of the baker. He loses his wages of three francs, so that the bread comes to three francs twelve *sous* the quartern."

Anon it rises to fourteen *sous*. A brisk business is doing on the bridges, in the open places, where men passing with a loaf under their arms, re-sell it to the workmen for twenty *sous*. "We want powder for our wigs," Jean Jacques Rousseau had said; "that is the reason of the poor wanting bread." And the reproach touches the hearts of actresses and fashionable ladies; they discard powder or use as little as possible; the starchmakers are ordered to employ barley instead of wheat; the pupils of the college Louis le Grand resolve to eat rice, and to offer twenty-eight sacks of wheat. The King forbids the playing of the fountains at the fêtes, in order to turn the water to the Versailles mills, but it is of no use; the associates of the grain monopoly

cause a fictitious scarcity, by having [illegible] laged, the mills burned, the corn thrown into the river by a band of ruffians who penetrate even to Versailles, frightening the King in his own palace.

Poor Louis is astonished, and in the midst of his astonishment is induced to promise a reduction in the price of bread. As for the punishing of these brigands, his ministers may do as they like, the whole affair has taken his breath away; he begins to doubt whether he is really King of France.

Emboldened by the first success, the privileged continue their tactics of obstruction, and flatly refuse to register the edict for the abolition of freemen's rights. As a last effort on Turgot's part, he decides the King to hold a bed of justice, where the edict is registered, but this imposition of the royal will is like the convulsions of a dying man. The King stands isolated, the nation is slowly rising, Parliament recommences the opposition found so troublesome by his predecessor, the Court and the Queen reproach him with frittering away the splendid inheritance left to the French monarchs by Louis le Grand, and which should be transmitted intact to his children. Good Malesherbes, Turgot's trusty helper, disgusted with all these vile cabals, voluntarily quits the ministry; the latter, more courageous, waits till he is sent away, uttering these memorable words at his dismissal: "Sire, the destiny of Kings led by courtiers is that of Charles I." A prophet verily, who did not live to see his prophecy fulfilled. He died in 1781.

"Hope, then, is deferred? Deferred; not destroyed or abated," writes Carlyle.[1] "Hope, that immortal delicious maiden, for ever courted, for ever propitious, whom fools have called deceitful, as if it were Hope that carried the cup of disappointment, whereas it is her deadly enemy, Certainty." Hope has doffed the maiden's garb for once, and donned that of old Maurepas, who presents, as his successor, De Clugni, a popular man, trusted by the people, a special *protégé* and worthy disciple of Hope, for he soon created a royal lottery, by whose agency a man might go to bed ruined, and rise wealthy.

If the nation could but sleep till riches were realised; but the thunder of fast-approaching war awakens it to the terrible reality of empty pockets, and compulsory labour and taxes, which flourish as of yore, and are re-established by Maurepas' puppet, who is shortly called by death elsewhere.

To him succeeds Necker (1732–1804), a Genevese banker, for many years domiciled in Paris, where he keeps open house, presided over by his wife—an old flame of Gibbon, author of the "Decline and Fall"—a woman benevolent without charity, virtuous without grace, with a great deal of vanity and little pride, intelligent, with that cold reason that takes part in a conversation but does not enliven it, preferring the flatterer to the comrade, and the *protégé* to the friend. In her *salon* might also be seen a young lady, "one day to be famed as Madame de Staël," romping about the knees of the hostess's ex-swain, who, wonderful to

[1] *The French Revolution*, vol. i., book ii., chap. iv.

relate, did not go to see his quondam foe Voltaire when the patriarch-philosopher came to his beloved capital to be worshipped and to die. Gibbon tried the experiment once, some years ago, at Ferney, and, though successful, cared not to repeat it.

Behold Necker rolling the stone up the mountain, and keeping it balanced on the top for the space of five years. The chosen friend of the Court, the avowed patron of men of letters, he was a modifier rather than an adversary of Turgot's system. Take him in all he may be considered as a decidedly able man, having but one fault, that of applying palliatives and not remedies —fascinating the world by his intelligence, self-confidence, happy expedients, efforts at economy, the whole somewhat gilded by charlatanism. His plan is feasible enough; but most unfortunately it is not equal to the impossible task of making the revenues meet the expenses of a Court which imagined that pomp was the sole means of sustaining the majesty of the throne.

Necker, like Law, the originator of the celebrated Mississippi Bubble, but with more elevated ideas and experience than the latter, thinks of saving the finances by credit, by loans, if there could be found lenders to trust without security, and to be made to believe in unpublished balance-sheets. Believe they will, but not in the royal resources, simply in Necker alone, who goes to work, and creates a temporary plethora, to be spent in powder, and guns, and ships, for is not France determined to belie Louis XV., who had, in former times, exclaimed, "It seems as if France were never to have a

navy?" If ever, now is the time, when England, busy with the subjugation of her American colonies, cannot pay much heed to the tearing up of the treaty of Paris. And France unfurls the lily-flowered standard on the same seas where the union jack braves the battle and the breeze. The cries for help from across the Atlantic are answered by the strange spectacle of a "Despotism tempered by epigrams," fighting side by side with new-fledged Democracy. A King whose trade it is to be royalist holds a reception at Versailles, where the cynosure of all eyes, the observed of all observers, is Benjamin Franklin, the man "who snatches the thunder from the skies, and the sceptre from the tyrant's hands."

And so Louis XVI., drawn into a war against his will, sends a beautiful fleet of thirty well-equipped ships, commanded by the Count d'Orvilliers, to meet Admiral Keppel, who has an equal number of vessels, between Ushant and the Scilly Islands. There, on the 27th of July, a most sanguinary engagement takes place, leaving the victory undecided, English and French claiming it alike. One there is who, if the old proverb be true, that lookers-on see most of the game, might have enlightened his contemporaries and posterity upon the subject, for report says that the young Duke de Chartres hid himself in the hold, but he speaks not, and sulks, "for the plaudits that greet him at the opera are changed into hisses" when it becomes known that it was after all a drawn battle.

More fortunate are the French in their warfare on land and in diplomacy. England sought to divert their

attention from a naval to a Continental war. An occasion soon presented itself. Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, died in 1777, leaving no heir but Charles Theodore, the Elector-Palatine. Joseph II., of Austria, who aimed at the dual glory of legislator and conqueror, and whom Frederick the Great called a Don Quixote, wanted to imitate the conquest of Silesia. He invaded Bavaria, annexing it to his domains. Charles Theodore turned for aid towards the King of Prussia, who but too pleased to assume the championship of the Empire against the house of Hapsburg, immediately threw nearly two hundred thousand men into Bohemia and Moravia. Notwithstanding the supplications of his mother, who wished for peace, Joseph raised two armies of equal strength, and called upon France to furnish him with the aid stipulated by the treaties. Hostilities had already commenced, and a second Seven Years' War was on the point of breaking out. But the able diplomacy of de Vergennes, the worthy inheritor of the plans of Choiseul, saved Europe from a conflagration that would have proved England's joy and America's ruin.[1]

France had not been quite so fortunate in her naval concerns. In vain had she instigated Spain to join her in endeavouring to take Gibraltar. Crillon, Nassau-Siegen, with the ablest generals, were there; the Duke de Bourbon and the Count d'Artois had also hastened to help; but Gibraltar did not surrender. On land an enormous battery of more than two hundred guns had been erected; ten newly invented leather-roofed floating batteries,

[1] Th. Lavallée, *Histoire des Français*, vol. iii., sect. iii., chap. v.

provided with a hundred and fifty cannons and mortars, were used; Gibraltar kept up an incessant fire of cannon-balls, and later on the united Spanish and French forces were obliged to abandon the attempt, and to retire discomfited.

The vibration of the cannon's roar, penetrating even into France, has had the effect of maintaining Necker's financial boulder nicely poised on the mountain's top, as if by some occult atmospheric influence, pressing equally on all sides, just as the jolting of the carriage keeps the traveller in a somnolent state, from which he starts when the conveyance halts. Stillness awakens him as noise sent him to sleep.

Peace has returned, and with it the conviction in many minds, notably in those of the King and the minister de Vergennes, that the astute Benjamin Franklin had used them as cat's paws. Nevertheless, the heroic volunteers—the Rochambeaus, the Bouillés, the Lameths, the Lafayettes—who drew their swords in this sacred trans-Atlantic quarrel of mankind, are effusively welcomed on their return. The last (1757–1834) "has his bust set up in the Paris Hôtel de Ville. Democracy stands inexpugnable, immeasurable, in her New World; has even a foot lifted towards the Old—and our French Finances, little strengthened by such work, are in no healthy way."[1]

When the shouts of joy, and the explosive fireworks, consequent upon peace, have abated, the financial boulder is found not to have become fixed, nor has royalty's position

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. i. book ii., chap. v.

been strengthened. The victories have been too many-sided. Far from retarding the revolutionary crisis, they accelerate it; for heroic volunteers who have returned from America are full of enthusiasm for democracy, of which they had only seen the surface through the prism of their illusions, but whose moral foundations were as dark as ever to them.

Anglomania is rampant, even Necker is infected with it, and obtains the King's consent to the publication of his report on the administration of the finances, "which publicity," he says, "is the whole secret of the financial prosperity of Great Britain."

If there be a skeleton in a man's closet, let him turn the key upon it, not disclose it to the public gaze on printed paper. "Beware of the pen," says an old Hebrew proverb. Triply, beware of the printing-press. Shakspere's "many-tongued rumour" is a solitary voice compared with it. In Necker's report the nation was for the first time initiated into the hitherto so carefully-kept secret of the income and outlay of the state. Anxious to show the blunders of his predecessors, he exhibits his own dexterity in a surplus of ten millions—a marvellous result of real economical skill and administrative reform. But the marvel turns out to be the mere preface to a "New way to pay old debts," or, rather, a once-tried way, viz., the abolition of privileges in matters of taxes and imposts, the Scylla and Charybdis of Turgot. By them Necker also shall come to grief.

Indignant is the Court at the Democratic innovation, at the unbearable tone and ulterior projects of the

minister; the public report it looks upon as degrading to royalty, placing it on a level with English royalty, Anglomania not stretching farther than their heads, certainly not so low down as their pockets. There ensues a general protest, in which the Queen joins, as well as old Maurepas, who is again jealous of another's influence. The poor King, buffeted by so many winds, deafened by so many shouts, dismisses Necker, as he had dismissed Turgot. Later on Necker became again a minister.

Shortly after Necker's dismissal Maurepas died; and the Queen now takes the place of private counsellor.

She bestirs herself to find a Midas with a Pactolus, or, in default of this, at least a Jupiter with a golden shower, for this perpetual distress of the royal treasury must cease. But neither one nor the other can be found at once. The Controller Joly de Fleury, Necker's immediate successor, tries, and fails. All he can do is to make "confusion worse confounded," causing an increase of three hundred million francs in the public debt in the thirteen or fourteen months of his tenure of office. The Controller d'Ormesson is less useful still, for he will not add to the burden; he is simply penny-wise, not even pounds-foolish. He considers the purchase of Rambouillet by the King, without consulting him, as a polite hint to withdraw; but remains in the ministry, at the entreaty of his wife. He is, however obliged to send in his resignation, a few days later, on account of malversation.

But what the Queen has been able to find, her

brother-in-law, the Count d'Artois, and assistant courtiers find for her in M. de Calonne (1734–1802) a man of reputation, perhaps not of the best kind, but of a kind best suited to the task of re-varnishing Court splendour and prodigality. We will see anon how it fares with Controller Calonne and the Court.

§ II.—PUBLIC OPINION.

(*From the Year* 1774 *to the Year* 1783.)

MEANWHILE, what is public opinion with regard to matters of State, of religion, of social problems?

Voltaire is dead, after having been carried through the streets of Paris in triumph, amidst loud shouts of the people in honour of the author of the *Henriade*, the defender of Calais, the writer of *La Pucelle!* It would be difficult to make the greatest enthusiast of the present day utter the same cries, especially the first and the last. Literary men, for the last fifty years of the eighteenth century, live not only in society, but exclusively for society; formerly they were tolerated merely, often having to put up, as did Voltaire, with a cudgelling from their noble patrons. Now there is not a house which has not its titular philosopher, man of science, or economist. The consequence is that every one dabbles a little, unconsciously, in philosophy, science, or economy. Many are like Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, who "spoke prose without knowing it;" they philosophise unconsciously. "My lady marchioness," says a personage in Diderot's *Conversation of a Philosopher with the Marchioness*, "I must consider things

from a somewhat higher point of view."—"As high as you please so long as I understand you."—"If you do not understand me it will be my fault."—"You are very polite, but you must know I have studied nothing but my prayer-book." But, notwithstanding this, the pretty woman, ably led on, arrives without an effort at the distinction between good and evil, and comprehends and decides on the highest doctrines of morality and religion. This is an example of the art of thinking gaining ground in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Thanks to this method abstract problems are understood, and gradually theory gets reduced to practice. Books dealing with the most weighty matters of State are plentifully seasoned and sharply spiced. Buffon is the only one who lacks that spice; Diderot puts it in by handfuls. There is an enormous amount of it in the *Nouvelle Héloise*, in *Emile*, in the *Lettres Persanes*. These Persians in their letters judge France as Persians; but the laugh is turned against the French, the same as against the English, in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. In their witty way such writers accomplish more than serious authors. One may prevent himself from crying; the wish to laugh is contagious and irresistible, and we want to know afterwards why our risible faculties have been excited. This produces reflection. When truth is thus propagated by means of farcical humour, or biting, withering satire, it becomes all-powerful; the wisest is not sorry to imbibe it at such a fount.

Among all these artists of the pen there is a man of the people, knowing the requirements of the people,

speaking from bitter experience, badly brought up, but with an ardent brain, under the influence of intense, prolonged meditation—Jean Jacques Rousseau. Let it be noted that every vice, every excess he attacks, is in reality existent; it is under the eyes of his readers, and cannot be denied. But he also writes in an idyllic strain, and it touches the heart more powerfully than his satires. With his soundings he strikes deep into breasts weary of the world, vaguely disgusted; he opens the flood-gates of suppressed desires, which gush forth like subterranean waters, overwhelming a whole artificial society of drawing-room puppets, to whom he preaches a return to nature, independence, earnestness, passion, and effusion, a manly, active, unselfish, and happy existence in the open air and sunshine. A lady of the Court, familiar with love as then practised, finds one evening as she is about to start for the opera, the *Nouvelle Héloise* (1759) on her toilet-table. She takes it up, and at four o'clock in the morning her horses and footmen are still waiting at the door. She has them unharnessed, and passes the remainder of the night in reading the book; for the first time in her life she finds the woman and man who really love.[1] If grown-up people are artificial in those days, children are more so; they are embroidered, gilded, dressed out little gentlemen and ladies, decked with sword or sash, provided with fans, presenting the hand to be kissed, or kissing it, so many puppets, with which a mother amuses herself each morning for an hour, and then hands them

[1] Rousseau, *Confessions*, Part 2, Book xi.

over to the servants for the rest of the day. Such a mother accidentally reads *Emile* (1762). Immediately her children are stripped of their finery, and she resolves to nurse her next child herself.

This is the great work done by the literary powers of the century. They all contribute to the doctrine of humanity, to the casting off of the trammels of artifice, to the establishing of the moral principle of equality in man, to the abolition of religious superstition. Under the Regency, most of these tenets, hitherto recruiting their votaries in the dark, emerge into open daylight. Add to this, that to the rural clergy and nobility, to the peasant, and even to the well-to-do *bourgeois*, these maxims, in conformity with their secret wishes, are as so much manna in the wilderness. What is a fashion with the irreverent epicurean and quasi-philanthropic malcontents in the upper grades of society is a terrible earnest with them. As yet, with the former, these high-sounding terms of liberty, justice, public good, men's obligation to fellow-men, are so admirable and imposing, and, above all, so vague and far-removed from realisation. They are still nothing but theories, not descending from their abstract height. If now and then they are made use of practically and partly, their employment is very nicely counterbalanced or restricted by anterior and more powerful customs and instincts. A man may profess a truth without being obliged to put it into immediate practice. As late as 1790, Mirabeau, on returning home just after having voted for the abolition of titles of nobility, takes his servant by the ear, and says to him—"Look here,

rascal, I trust that to you I shall always be My Lord Count." At the time we speak of these theories occupy much the same place in aristocratic brains as the bric-a-brac cups and saucers do now in the modern drawing-room—they are for show and admiration, not for use. If now and then one of these little fragile vessels gets broken, it is relegated to the kitchen, or servant's hall, where, in its damaged condition, people utilise it, and not always for the most refined purposes; and those utilising it discover, to their great astonishment, that the cup and saucer do not murmur at the indignity.

Let us look at religion. In 1722, the mother of the Regent writes—"I doubt if, in all Paris, a hundred individuals can be found, either ecclesiastics or laymen, who have any true faith, or even believe in the Lord." . . . . "The moment we appear," says one of the ecclesiastics, "we are forced into discussion; we are called upon to prove, for example, the utility of prayer, to an unbeliever in God, and the necessity of fasting to a man who has all his life denied the immortality of the soul; the effort is very irksome, while those who laugh are not on our side." [1] Horace Walpole, who returns to France in 1765, is astonished at the criticisms on the Old Testament freely indulged in in presence of the servants at the dinner-table. It comes at last to Voltaire being reckoned among the bigots—he is stigmatised as a deist, which in the present case means that he does not go far enough. "The

[1] Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes.*

fashionable world," says Mercier in his *Tableau de Paris* (1783), "has not attended mass for ten years past. People do go on Sundays so as not to scandalise their lackeys, while the lackeys well know that it is on their account." The freedom of ideas is as yet accompanied by the observance of form. A certain nobleman is induced on his dying bed to send for a priest to administer the holy sacrament. The ecclesiastic's name happens to be *Chapeau* (Hat). When the ceremony is about to commence the dying man interrupts it by exclaiming—"As I came into the world without breeches, I can well afford to leave it with a hat!" Some of the curates, who are of the people, and work among them, may still hold orthodox opinions; but the prelates, who are of society, think with society. "The body with the fewest prejudices," declares Mercier —"who would believe it?—is the clergy."

As yet the "divinity that doth hedge a king" is more or less observed. Social and political problems are not so much attacked as criticised. The *Lettres Persanes* and the *Esprit des Lois* are conservatively ironical. The royal fabric is considered capable of improvement, its demolition is far from contemplated. It is only about 1750 that the people are beginning to inquire into the material limits of taxation, whether all land ought not to pay taxes, and whether one plot should pay more than its net product, while another should be entirely exempt. Rousseau's discourse *On the Origin of Inequality* belongs to 1753; the question is asked; "Are we subject to the will of an absolute

master, or, are we governed by a limited and regulated power?" Then comes the exile of Parliaments by Maupeou (1771), and the banished members study public rights at their sources, and confer together about them. Through their researches the opinion gains ground that the nation should be above the King. This may give rise to random reasoning on political subjects, but nevertheless the people occupy themselves in that way.

In 1762 France is deluged by pamphlets, tracts, and political fly-sheets. The formidable word *citoyen*, imported by Rousseau, has been stamped not as yet into a current coin, but into a medal, whose wearers proudly display it on all occasions. Madame du Deffant, Horace Walpole's friend, ostentatiously uses it in her correspondence. Classes, which forty years ago were densely ignorant of the slightest historical knowledge, now eagerly peruse works upon the subject. The actions of sovereigns are freely canvassed by their subjects. Idle conversations have ceased, to make room for those about agriculture, economy, reform, and philosophy. In this crusade of innovations fashionable women, ladies of rank, lead the van. "Women have got the upper hand with the French, to such an extent they have so subjugated them, that they (the French) neither feel nor think except as they do." Thus writes an authority in 1770. They have suddenly become deaf to experience which tells them not to meddle with questions of so grave an import, that neither by nature nor education they are meant for such burdensome concerns, "they are," as one of them says, "Penthisileas, seated at the tea-

table, and in the excitement of the vehement discussions burning their fingers by spilling a cup of the scalding fluid over their dresses." They soon convert the young gallants to their ways of thinking, they no longer laugh or flirt, but read the papers or recite some improvised speech to their patronesses. Gradually the dreams of Utopian equality and humanity are attempted to be realised, and this despite the serious alarms of the old court and clergy, who thunder at the spirit of innovation. Though institutions remain monarchical, manners and customs become republican. When the news of the American rebellion reaches France, the Marquis de Lafayette, leaving his young wife pregnant, braves the orders of the Court by purchasing a frigate, and crosses the ocean to fight by the side of Washington. Numbers of gentlemen follow him. They are not merely instigated to this step by the love of danger, they wish to emancipate the oppressed; "we showed ourselves philosophers by becoming paladins, the chivalric sentiment enlisting in the service of liberty." Nor is there less zeal shown at home. "Never," says M. Taine,[1] "was an aristocracy so deserving of power at the moment of losing it; the privileged class, roused from their indolence, were again becoming public men, and, restored to their functions, were returning to their duties." The time has come when the new ideas no longer required the celebrity of the sponsors to propagate them. "The most active pity filled every one's heart. What wealthy people feared most was to be branded as

[1] Taine, *L'Ancien Régime.*

unfeeling."[1] In the assembly of Alençon, the nobility and clergy impose upon themselves a tax of 30,000 francs to relieve the indigent in each parish subject to taxation. One has but to read the records of the various provincial Parliaments to find multiplied instances of this wish to benefit their inferiors and humanity at large.

In all these efforts the Third Estate acts energetically. They too are marching with the times. Composed of merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, lawyers, attorneys, physicians, actors, professors, curates, functionaries, and employés of every description, their mental horizon, limited at first, has gradually expanded in proportion to the expansion of their professional, artistic, or mercantile career. Since the introduction of great enterprises of trade and speculation by Law, the merchant especially has become very prosperous. "Industry increases every day. To see the private display, the prodigious number of pleasant dwellings erected in Paris and in the provinces, the numerous equipages, the convenience, the acquisitions comprehended in the term *luxe*, one might suppose that opulence was twenty times greater than it formerly was. All this is the result of ingenuity, much more than of wealth."[2] Trade has created many immense fortunes, and a still larger number of moderate ones, whose capital sought investment. At the head of all the needy nobles, princes of the blood, provincial assemblies, standing ready with

[1] Lacretelle, *Histoire du dix-huitième siècle*, vol. v., p. ii.
[2] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*

outstretched hand to obtain money, is the King, who borrows at ten per cent., and is always waiting to repeat the experiment. Under Fleury the interest amounts to eighteen million francs, during the Seven Years' War it increases to thirty-four millions. Necker borrows five hundred and thirty million francs, one of his successors three hundred million, and by-and-by we will come to M. de Calonne. The interest on the public debt, when the latter assumes the office of Controller-General, amounts to nearly hundred millions. Who are the lenders of this ? The Third Estate, for it is the only body that and saves money. Add to these thousands of , all belonging to the same class, financiers who make advances to the government-purveyors large and small for private and public works.

Hence the King becomes the universal debtor, and his affairs are no longer exclusively his own. As it is the creditors' money and not his own he wastes, they grow uneasy at his expenditure, and want to know something of his budget. Consequently they begin to pay attention to the working of the machine of state, and, through self-interest, become politicians, and, the matters in which they are interested being badly conducted, discontented politicians.

They are constantly on the alert against the chicanery which a powerful debtor may with impunity employ against as yet feeble creditors. Bankruptcy is for ever looming on the horizon. Royalty only pays when it can; all salaries and purveyors' accounts are three and four years behindhand.

In such a state of impending insolvency those whose all in all is embarked become uneasy, consult with each other, and begin to exercise control. It is evidently not to their interest to see the fabric crumble to pieces, for it would entail their ruin, so everything must be done to strengthen it.

Meanwhile, the middle classes have become refined and educated, the distinctions, as portrayed by manners and speech hitherto, are fast vanishing. A *parvenu* with money at his command can, so nearly all, become bright and intelligent; his children, and not himself, are initiated into the externals of good society, and soon mix with those above them in station. More readily so in those times, seeing that all the leading talent belongs to or is descended from the middle classes. Voltaire is the son of a notary, Diderot of a cutler, Rousseau of a watchmaker, d'Alembert is a foundling, La Harpe has been brought up by charity, the Minister of Finance, Necker, was once a clerk in Thelusson's bank at Geneva, Marmontel is the son of a village tailor, Chamfort does not know his father, Beaumarchais is the son of another watchmaker. In short, the plebeians are the pioneers of intellect, consequently they not only enter the drawing-room, but take the foremost places in it. The nobility envy their talents, and seek to emulate them. The Prince de Hénin openly declares that if he could he would compose a play, other nobles do compose and act them with real actors in private theatres.

This intermixture of classes and changing of character lead to something else. The plebeian begins to ask

in what the superiority of the noble consists; what is his recognised capacity by which he should claim the respect of a number of the Third Estate? And the answer is that the noble's pretensions to the highest places are based neither on superior education, greater familiarity and experience with government, political instruction, nor on moral authority.

And some of the nobles themselves associate freely with the Third Estate, united in rancour against the Court and the [illegible]ries that bar every road to success. Slowly this d[illegible] leaks from its primitive reservoir and insensib[illegible]colates through the lower classes. A traveller at the beginning of Louis XVI.'s reign, returning home after some years' absence, on being asked what change he noticed in the nation, replied, "Nothing, except that what used to be talked about in the drawing-rooms is now repeated in the streets."[1]

Those of the court nobles who refuse to submit to the doctrine of equality are greeted with such witticisms as the following: "The most honourable title of the French nobility," writes Chamfort, "is their direct descent from some thirty thousand helmeted, cuirassed, armleted beings, who on heavy horses, sheathed in armour, trod under foot eight or ten millions of naked men, the ancestors of the actual nation. These are the well-established claims to the respect and affection of their descendants! And to complete the respectability of this nobility, it is recruited and regenerated by the adoption of those who have acquired fortune by plunder-

[1] De Barante, *Tableau de la littérature française au dix-huitième siècle.*

ing the cabins of the poor who are unable to pay its impositions." Sarcastic analysis of the nobles' claim could no further go, one would imagine, but here is another sample. "Why," exclaimed Siéyès, the author of *What is the Third Estate?* "why should not the Third Estate send back into Franconia every family that maintains its absurd pretension of having sprung from the loins of a race of conquerors, and having succeeded to the rights of conquest? I can scarcely imagine, were there no police, every Cartouche, first establishing himself on the high road—would that give him the right to levy toll? Suppose him to sell a money of this kind, once common enough, to an honest successor, would the right become any more respectable in the hands of the purchaser? . . . Every privilege in its nature is unjust, odious, and against the social compact." The blood boils at the thought of its ever having been possible to legally consecrate down to the eighteenth century the abominable fruits of an abominable feudal system. . . . The courtiers reign, and not the monarch. . . . They suck all—everything being for them."

The feeling permeating all classes is the feeling against the Court and the Court nobles, when Calonne undertakes to do what Necker has declared impossible. Let us see how he sets about it.

§ III.—A TEMPORARY LULL.

(From 4th of November, 1783, to May 5th, 1789.)

"No man is too old or too wise to learn," says an ancient truism. Seeing that Necker had fallen through the courtiers, the new Controller-General is determined to

maintain himself through them. Necker had counselled economy and retrenchment, Calonne is prodigal, not only in witticisms but in hard cash. The courtiers and the Court party are jubilant. Economy no longer haunts the royal abodes; profusion is now all the fashion. Want is no longer thought of, but Plenty lavishly dispenses her favours and bestows them blindly and even exuberantly. Balls and entertainments are the order of the day; pensions are to be had for the asking, and a sunny gaiety prevails withal that does not fail to charm everybody's heart, even the capitalist's, seduced at first by the exactness with which he receives what is due to him. If such a garden of Eden could but last! Were it planted with gold-shedding trees it might; had Calonne even Aladdin's lamp. Trees there are at Trianon and at Versailles, lamps also, but the first are not gold-shedding nor are the last Aladdin's, they throw but a faint flicker. Unable to shed a clear light, it were better had they been extinguished altogether than illuminate a scene such as that supposed to have happened one dark night in the Trianon park. Who shall determine the exact proportions of truth and falsehood in the story of the diamond necklace? (1785). Certain is it that the matter rankled in the minds of the people; few there were who did not believe in the dishonour of the royal family.

Nor let any one accuse Calonne of having no genius. It was genius of a kind, "genius for persuading, above all for borrowing," eight hundred million francs in three years, a long tether, but run out at last. To whom shall

he address himself next to prolong this false but bewitching position? Can he fall back upon imposts and taxes? The people are squeezed dry; the privileged classes will offer nothing, most of them have nothing to offer, those that have employ it in alleviating the misery of the working classes in the provinces and in the capital. Under such circumstances, one course remains open; the Convocation of the Notables, a scheme which by its novelty may succeed.

Accordingly, the Notables, chosen by the Government from the higher classes, assembled in a ministerial conclave on the 22nd day of February. Existence, proper or legalised, they had one. "Speech is silvern, silence is golden." If Calonne's speech, able, to the point, had but produced the lesser metal, all had been well; but a minister who lifts himself into power by giving, cannot maintain himself by asking. To ask is an abominable sin, especially in the eyes of those who have helped to create a deficit of a hundred and twelve million francs. To ask is a mere imitation of Turgot, disguise it however you will, and these hundred and forty-four Notables, including seven princes of the blood, had expected something different from Calonne. What, in fact, does he propose? Provincial assemblies and a new land-tax, from which "neither privileged nor unprivileged, noblemen, clergy, nor parlementeers, shall be exempt." It seems preposterous to them that they who have taxed all their lives shall be taxed in return, particularly by one who was all smiles and politeness, and who led them on, as it were, by false pretences. No;

if it were by any but him, they might submit, and so they give the King to understand, through the Count d'Artois, who turns his back upon his former *protégé*, and who, aided by the Queen's counsel, recommends Cardinal Loménie de Brienne, the upholder of Church and State, the same who, at the King's coronation, addressed the young monarch with, "You will disapprove of the culpable systems of toleration. . . . Complete the work undertaken by Louis the Great. To you is reserved the privilege of giving the final blow to Calvinism in your kingdom." To trusting Controller-General Calonne! "Eloquence can do much, but not all. Orpheus, with eloquence grown rhythmic, musical (what we call Poetry), drew iron tears from the cheek of Pluto: but by what witchery of rhyme or prose, wilt thou from the pocket of Plutus draw gold?"[1]

Even the nation cannot or will not see good in the reforms proposed by the Controller-General, and so, brought to bay on all sides, Calonne can but acquiesce in the King's wish that he should retire, unregretted by any one, in angry correspondence with Necker, bull-baited by Count de Mirabeau, who, by this time, having set his matrimonial affairs in such order as they were capable of, is denouncing Agio, and with it the fallen Controller.

There is great joy among the Notables, who now accept the proposed reforms. A new era of hope seems to dawn for France. "Everything," says Chancellor Lamoignon, "is to be set straight, without overthrow

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. i., book iii., chap. iii.

of fortunes, without altering the principles of the government." Perhaps, for all are apparently of the same mind, the privileged counting on the resistance of Parliament against the measures they have so cordially accepted, for is not Parliament the time-honoured citadel of all the abuses? Nor are their hopes frustrated. De Brienne, ambitious but irresolute, shallow but improvident, knowing, however, that it is easier to take an inch than an ell, also knowing that a certain quantity of inches make up this ell, instead of presenting at once and in the lump the ordinances of reform for registration, only presents them one after the other, at long intervals. Conciliated somewhat by the dismissal of Calonne, the Notables are willing to make some concessions, nay, willing to overlook that de Brienne's plan is, after all, not de Brienne's, but Calonne's, not Calonne's, but Turgot's and Necker's combined. Nor does de Brienne think it good that these Notables should be assembled for any length of time; so when their six propositions about "Provisional assemblies, suppression of labour on the highways, the trade in grain," and similar ones have been accepted, the subvention of land-tax and much else glossed over, amidst great flourishing of eloquence, they are, on the 25th of May, dismissed to their respective abodes, after having listened to about ten speeches, among which that of the King lasting for a whole day. Thus finishes the sitting of the Notables, the first that had taken place since the year 1626, under Richelieu.

Meanwhile, it was considered right, with these six or

seven conciliatory measures in hand, to call together the Paris Parliament. Cash must be had, and the creation of provincial assemblies apportioning the imposts, suppression of labour on highways, alleviation of salt reform, may prove so many sops to Cerberus, wherewith to tempt him to register bursal and fixed edicts, one in particular a stamp-tax, which idea de Brienne has luckily enough borrowed from America.

Cerberus is not to be bribed though; he will take the sops, and swallow them contentedly, but when the subvention of the land-tax accompanied by the stamp-tax is introduced, the entire Parliament explodes, nobles and Third Estate alike, into furious declamation against the minister, the Court, their prodigalities, and distinctly refuses to register. The opposition is led by two vastly different individuals, d'Esprémesnil (1746—1794), confusedly violent, indiscriminately defending all privileges, and Adrien Duport, calm and energetic, and aiming at something else than the triumph of parliamentary aristocracy.

Strange to say, the opposition of the Parliament, headed by d'Esprémesnil, though directed against sterling measures of reform, was applauded at, and became very popular. Two reasons mainly contributed to make the nation dislike the measures proposed by the Court. The first reason was that the people thought them ineffectual and insufficient; and, besides, they had expected something more sweeping than a mere change of ministry from the conflict between Calonne and the Notables. The second reason was, that they had been in

the habit of considering Parliament as the champion of public liberties, and its present resistance was deemed by them as inspired by the same noble motives—though it was not. Hence the public's approbation to what was in reality aimed against them. This revolutionary tendency to oppose indiscriminately whatever emanated from the Government ought to have put the King and his courtiers on their guard—unfortunately, it left them careless and supercilious as before.

In the heat of the discussion, it was proposed by Lafayette to convoke a National Assembly. "You demand States-General?" asked the Count d'Artois, with an air of minatory surprise. "Yes, Monseigneur, and even better than that." "Write it," said Monseigneur to the Clerks.[1]

There was little need to write, it having impressed itself in burning characters on every one's mind. It rallied all thoughts into one; put an end to all uncertainties: became the watchword of all parties. Parliament, blinded by its egotism, adopted it to escape from territorial subvention, declaring that the States-General only had the power of imposing imposts. It was tantamount to telling the nation that for centuries King and Parliament had been guilty of gross injustice, if not of fraud. It was opening the people's eyes to their rights—nay, arming them to claim these rights by force. Meanwhile, the Court, rendered desperate at the new turn of affairs, desperate also

[1] Toulongeon, *Histoire de France depuis la Révolution de* 1789, as quoted by Carlyle.

with impending bankruptcy, prevailed upon the King to hold a bed of justice, in which he ordered the new edicts relating to the imposts to be registered. The following morning Parliament declared the registration null and valueless. The ignorant physician when suddenly faced by a new disease has no other resource left than to apply such remedies as he has heard of. His own experience does not supply him with a cure. So with Louis XVI. In this new emergency he made use of the old expedient—exile. Parliament in a body was banished to Troyes, in Champagne.

There it sits debating in laborious idleness, making no progress, calling cases and daily adjourning, for no lawyer makes his appearance to plead—a prey to tedium, and to the fear that Paris may forget them; for Paris appears rather disposed to take the law into her own hands, if we may judge by the reception it accords to the Count de Provence and to Monseigneur d'Artois. For some days after Parliament has been thus unceremoniously hustled out of the capital, these two noblemen drive down in their state carriage, to have the new edicts about the land-tax and stamp-tax registered on the Records. The first, who is thought to be the friend of the people, is bestrewed with flowers; so is the latter, but the floral tribute happens to be cauliflowers, a compliment which the King's brother scarcely seems to appreciate—at least, the military are called out to put an end to the rather doubtful ovation.

Seeing this, and that the minor courts and provincial assemblies were scarcely more tractable than the exiled

Parliament—the former having registered under protest, and equally proclaimed the necessity of convoking the States-General—Loménie de Brienne entered into negotiations with the banished legislators. Thinking half a loaf better than none, he consented to withdraw the stamp-tax and territorial subvention; they, on their side, engaging themselves to pass the edicts relating to the twentieths and several loans. In addition to which the Controller-General agreed to convoke the States-General in five years from this time. The situation became strangely complicated. The magistracy and nobility incited the people against the Court in defence of their privileges, using the future States-General as a shield against its encroachments; while the Court, attacked by everybody, endeavoured to retain its absolute power by sacrificing the privileged classes, and invoked the support of the people by the same States-General.

After a month of mutual intriguing, from which the elder members of Parliament, d'Ormesson and others, did certainly not issue with altogether clean hands, behold the legislature once more returned to Paris. "It went out covered with glory, it came back covered with mud," said d'Esprémesnil, and he was not far wrong.

All would have been well, however, if the King had shown himself firm; but firmness of all things was wanting in Louis. Content never to penetrate beyond the surface of things, he took away with one hand what he gave with the other. Not that he loved

subterfuge for its own sake, but he was too timorous to look stern facts in the face. He had pledged himself through the mouth of his minister to the convocation of the States-General at a future date. Instead of abiding by the salutary effect this promise had already produced in the minds of many, instead of profiting by its conciliating tendency, he on the 19th of November, 1787, at a time when most in need of parliamentary support, alienated that support by drawing back and declaring that the fixing of this convocation should be left solely to his judgment, adding that at best the States-General "would be a more wide-spread council, composed of members of a family of whom he was the chief, and consequently the supreme arbiter of their suggestions and complaints." Not satisfied with opening a scarcely-healed wound, he proceeds to pour poison into it on the spot by ordering Lamoignon, the Keeper of the Seals, to read two edicts, one for a successive loan, in other words, a loan that shall go on borrowing, year after year, whatsoever is needed, until 1792; the other a tardy reparation in the shape of annulling the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, thereby reinstating Protestants in their civil rights. The latter was a well-intentioned measure, due to the wise counsels of honest Malesherbes, but it should have been introduced by itself, not as an apparent bribe for the passing of the fiscal edict. When Lamoignon had done speaking, clenching his peroration also with a promise of future States-General, discussion commenced, waxing louder and louder, the peers listening

attentively, swayed by various emotions, "unfriendly to States-General, unfriendly to despotism which cannot reward merit and is suppressing places."

Thus the thunder of eloquence proceeds until dusk, and yet no solution is arrived at, when, on a hint of his minister, the King rises, and briefly says, "That he must have his loan edict registered." At these words the great-grandson of the late Regent, the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Egalité, a declared enemy to the Queen, hated by the Court, a profligate, whose ambition made him side with the popular party, starts to his legs, and inquires, suavely, "whether it is a bed of justice or a royal session?" "It is a session," comes the answer from the neighbourhood of the throne. In this case he will crave leave to protest against the illegality of the proceeding, and will beg to remark that edicts cannot be registered by order in a session. Upon which the King departs, "more in anger than in sorrow," escorted by his royal relative and opponent as far as the outer gate; Parliament, the moment his back is turned, declaring the registration null and void. The following morning the Duke of Orleans was banished to his seat at Villers-Cotterets, while, at the same time, two secondary ringleaders, Fréteau and Sabatier de Cabre, are confined, the one to the castle of Ham, the other to Mount St. Michel. This high-handed proceeding brought matters to a dead-lock, the Parliament threatening, de Brienne unable to fill his coffers by the proposed loan, fermentation becoming general, and from all quarters

the cry resounding for the convocation of the States-General.

In this crisis the Government resolved upon a *coup d'état*, which, while ridding it of Parliamentary opposition, should at the same time deprive the nation of all pretext for discontent, by taking the initiative in all matters of reform.

In the meanwhile the spring of 1788 is reached Parliament is on the alert, for somehow the news had leaked out that incessant printing was going on in the King's palace at Versailles. The workmen do not leave the castle; they are provided with food and bed inside. This must betoken something, and impetuous d'Esprémesnil undertakes to get the clue to the mystery. A successful tampering with a printer's wife places him in possession of a proof-sheet of the royal edict that shall put an end to Parliament altogether, and which edict is to be promulgated over all France on the self-same day. Quick to give the alarm, he informs his fellow-members (4th May), who swear to oppose themselves against every attempt subversive of the constitutional laws of the monarchy. D'Esprémesnil receives his reward, for the next day he is behind lock and key, in company with a fellow-member. At this outrage on Parliamentary inviolability the whole capital is in uproar. On the 8th of May, princes, peers, and magistrates, are convoked at Versailles, where Royalty, in a bed of justice, pronounces its ultimatum with regard to the reform so long clamoured for, and makes every concession which it thinks possible. "There is no derelic-

tion," said the King, "of which my Parliament has not been guilty for the last year. . . . I owe it to my people, to myself, to my successors, to check them. . . A powerful State requires but one King, one law, one registration, tribunals of limited jurisdiction, parliaments to which the most important law-suits shall be referred, a court the sole depositary of the laws, and chargeable with their registration; lastly, States-General, to be convoked whenever the requirements of the State shall make it necessary. This is the restoration which my love for my subjects has prepared." After which the Chancellor read the edicts by which various courts of law were suppressed, the prerogatives of Parliaments curtailed by the creating of inferior tribunals, the exceptional courts abolished, criminal procedure was reformed, and a plenary court established for the registration of laws, which court was to be composed of nobles, bishops, councillors of state, and of the grand Chamber of the Paris Parliament.

In themselves these contemplated reforms were good enough, unfortunately they came half a century too late, consequently they were hailed with universal disapproval. The Paris Parliament renewed its oath of resistance, and was followed by nearly all the provincial assemblies, some of which had to be dispersed by armed force. In Dauphiné especially, troubles were reaching a climax, the military refusing to obey the orders of the court, and in Brittany the nobility and magistrates declaring the acceptance of a post in the ministry as an act of infamy. "As for the plenary court, it has literally expired in its birth," even the courtiers refusing to sit in it. The

clergy, coming to swell the tide of malcontents, openly blamed the acts of the ministry, and demanded the immediate convocation of the States-General.

The Paris Parliament, bodily turned into the streets since the crisis invoked by d'Esprémesnil, wanders disconsolately between the capital and Versailles, powerless either for good or for evil. The utmost it can do is to assemble in taverns for the purpose of ineffectual protesting, being reduced to lodge their protest with a notary, and then await the result. The result, though distant as yet, makes its thunder heard already.

As if to crown all this misfortune, the Famine Pact, which Necker had been unable to dissolve, but which has been kept in check until now by the will of the King, profiting by an edict rendering the trade in grain free for the fourth time, recommenced its infamous manœuvres, causing a cry of hunger and revenge to resound throughout the breadth and length of the land. The Cardinal de Brienne, at his wit's end—it was but a short mental tether at best—worn in body and mind, stretched on a sick-bed, having tried everything—force and intrigue, despotism and corruption—finding himself at last without plenary court and without Parliaments, without loans, and without imposts, grasped at the last remedy of all, the States-General. On the 8th of August, 1788, about a month after a most frightful hail-storm had laid waste all the fruits of the year, he definitely announced their meeting in the following month of May, in the meantime inviting the great bodies of the kingdom and the learned societies to

forward papers in which their attributes and functions should be discussed. As Carlyle says, "Invitation to Chaos to be so kind as build, out of its tumultuous driftwood, an Ark of Escape for him." Which announcement is received at Court with ominous silence, broken only by the Queen exclaiming, "Great Heaven, what a piece of news will be made public to-day! The King grants States-General. . . . . It is a first beat of the drum of ill omen for France. This Noblesse will ruin us."[1]

"Has ruined us," would have been more appropriate; for so empty were the coffers of the State that a subscription in aid of the hospitals had even been spent. Still, there were ten months to wait, and the Court had to live meanwhile. In this emergency Necker is invited to become again Controller of finances; but Necker refuses, preferring to bide his time.

Ready money there is none, or scarcely any, so there is no other resource left but paper. On the 16th of August Paris is startled by the announcement that henceforth all payments at the royal treasury shall be made two-fifths in cash, the remaining three-fifths in paper, bearing interest. This proves a death-blow; and the indignation became such that de Brienne was obliged to tender his resignation, advising the King to recall Necker (August 25th).

The latter's immediate re-appearance and the assembling of States-General in ten months hence seemed to the nation a universal panacea for all evils. So

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. i., book iii., chap. viii.

wrought up, in fact, was France by her internal troubles, that the plots hatched by her foreign enemies were scarcely taken heed of. They were none the less serious, however.

In England the Whig ministry which had concluded the peace of 1783 had fallen, and was replaced by a different Government, at the head of which was the younger Pitt. Constituting himself the champion of the aristocracy and the court, he re-established a calm, somewhat rudely shaken by the revolt of the American colonies. At the same time he endeavoured to take advantage of the critical state in France, which, it has been said, he fomented by secret supplies of money, to wrest from her the ascendency she had gained in Europe since the American war, by a treaty which he concluded with Frederick William II., the nephew and successor of Frederick the Great, but lately dead, and in this way disturbing the peace of Europe without France being able to check his underhanded manœuvres. Catherine II. of Russia was pursuing her ambitious designs upon the Ottoman empire, covertly, if not openly, backed up by Joseph II. of Austria, the successor of Maria-Theresa, to whom had been promised as a reward for his countenance, Italy and Rome.

In vain did the Turks turn for help towards France; she either could or would not aid, having just concluded a treaty of commerce with Russia, a proceeding which gave great umbrage to the English Cabinet. It seized this opportunity of weakening France's influence with the Porte, and acquiring by these means the trade of

the Levant, of which the former had up till then pretty well had the monopoly. England frightened Turkey with the aggressive projects of Russia and Austria, advising her to take the initiative by attacking her enemies first, and promising her the support of Sweden and Prussia, and even of Poland. The whole of this promised support failed, England and Prussia meanwhile turning their combined efforts against another ally of France—Holland.

The last country had some time before been threatened by Joseph II., who, seeking aggrandisement everywhere, wanted to gain the mastery of the Scheldt, which scheme was nipped in the bud by the generous intervention of France. Grateful for this, the Netherlands entered into an alliance with France, which put a stop to England's influence on the Dutch republic, notwithstanding the efforts of the Stadthouder, a devoted adherent to the house of Hanover. The Dutch States-General, warned by their Stadthouder's former treachery, endeavoured to curtail his power; but the populace, attached to the Nassaus, and instigated by the secret agents of England and Prussia, openly revolted against the citizens and the Government. The States, threatened by the Cabinets of St. James and Berlin, invoked the assistance of France, and, on the latter's promise of establishing a camp near the frontier, they proclaimed the deposition of William of Nassau.

The King of Prussia, having learned that the French camp existed only in imagination, threw into Holland an army of twenty thousand men, who reinstated his

brother-in-law (1787). The Stadthouder revenged himself by proscribing and exiling a great many people, who took refuge in France, and Holland submitted again to England's domination.

At the same time Joseph II. wanted to establish an absolute monarchy in his Belgian provinces, and introduce religious reforms, as in his other States, where he had suppressed about five hundred convents. The Belgians asked Louis XVI. for aid, which was not forthcoming however, and the country was only saved from being occupied by the Austrians through Turkey attacking Russia, which obliged Joseph II. to recall his forces in order to support his old ally.

This listlessness of France had the effect of damaging her prestige both at home and abroad. Foreigners deemed her henceforth unable of interfering in the affairs of Europe; Frenchmen were saying that their country had relapsed into the opprobrious state of impotence of the Seven Years' War.

The recall of Necker could not even remove the stigma or redeem the contempt in which the nation held the King through his abortive measures and his vacillating policy. There is an open defiance of the court expressed in a hundred ways, such as in lighting bonfires at the retirement of de Brienne, when Paris becomes the scene of a three days' sanguinary conflict between the army and the populace.

When Necker re-entered the ministry he believed himself all powerful and indispensable—in fact, he was dazzled by his popularity. His first care was to prevent

the export of grain, but in this he was frustrated by the rapacity of the members of the Famine Pact, who had bought up all the corn, and caused a scarcity increased by the failure of the crops that year. "The minister had to buy the ransom of France at the cost of much gold," it was said, and nothing could be truer, for he had to disburse forty millions of francs to check the rise in prices. The hospitals are filled with people suffering from scorbutic diseases,—"strange famine," writes a journal, "a famine that seems imported rather than to have come of its own accord." Under these trying circumstances the States-General had become the sheet-anchor of hope to the nation. It is true that Necker had again convoked the Paris Parliament, and revoked de Brienne's edicts, but these measures were merely temporary, in order to tide over the ten months which must still intervene.

De Brienne had invited public discussion in the newspapers, and journalism, answering the hint, may be said to have sprung full-armed from the Revolution's head. Pamphlets, fly-sheets, patriotic gatherings in imitation of the political clubs of England are born, mushroom-like, in one night. Every one who can wield a pen, and many who cannot wield it, rush into the fray. The scenes enacted in Fleet Street each morning in our own day find their prototypes in the Paris of the First Revolution. Before daylight has found its way into the narrow Rue Percée a crowd assembles at the door of the celebrated bookseller Chevalier, a motley multitude whom charity no longer feeds, peripatetic beggars,

women and girls out of employ, dismissed lacqueys, and street Arabs. The moment they have got their wares, every kerbstone becomes an office, where the wholesale vendors distribute retail. The pen has verily become mightier than the sword.

As yet the papers discuss but two important questions. Shall the Third Estate be equal in its representation to that of the nobility and clergy? Shall the votes be taken according to the different orders, or per head? The whole revolution seems to be contained in this problem. The people are unanimous in demanding double representation [1] of the Third Estate, and voting individually; if this were not obtained all reforms would necessarily fall through before the coalition of the two privileged classes. Then the latter took the alarm, and once more sought the support of the now-sitting Parliament, itself afraid of the torrent of passions it had let loose and could not stem. A compromise is arrived at on the motion of d'Esprémesnil, that provisionally the order of things in the coming assembly shall be as that of 1614.

At this declaration the mask fell, exposing to view the dishonest motives of the magistrates' opposition. Parliament lost its popularity irretrievably. Necker, a staunch partisan of the English constitution, and flattering himself that he could guide the revolution at his will, had decided to give the Third Estate the same number of deputies as the nobility and clergy combined.

[1] By double representation is meant that the Third Estate should be equal in numbers to the nobility and clergy collectively.

Whether this was intended as a means of tempting the privileged classes into the road to reform, or whether to make them still more unpopular, it would be difficult to say; at any rate Necker convoked an assembly of Notables to hear their opinion on the subject. Of the six committees of which this assembly was composed, one only voted for the double representation of the Third Estate. The King this time upheld the minority, and his decision was received with universal enthusiasm. Nothing else was spoken of than the elections, which were everywhere conducted in an excited but peaceful manner, except in Brittany, where the nobility showed themselves hostile to the citizens, and where the riots had to be quelled by the military.

In Provence, the Count de Mirabeau, who had gained an unenviable notoriety by his immorality, but whose eminent talents pointed him out as a valuable pioneer in the coming struggle, was triumphantly elected by the people, who saw in him a champion of that minority of the privileged classes intending to make common cause with them against the encroachments of the aristocracy. In Paris the elections were not unaccompanied by violence, fostered no doubt by the inflammatory brochures, showered broadcast from all quarters, and one of which, that of theAbbéde Siéyès (1748—1836), entitled, *What is the Third Estate?* deserves especial mention.

"What is the Third Estate?" asked the author, undertaking to supply the answer himself. The Third Estate, according to his showing, ought to be, or at the very least might be, everything, whereas in France it had

hitherto been nothing. "It is," he continues, "a complete nation in itself; providing the whole rank and file of the army, of the church, of the law, of the administration, of every profession and trade and branch of industry." It was only from the privileged positions in all these spheres that it had been excluded, but it was capable of supplying worthy candidates for any and every post, however exalted. It could dispense with the rest of the nation, but the rest of the nation could not exist without it. Hence it followed that the lofty position from which it was excluded belonged to it by the highest *right*, whilst the *privileged* orders were merely usurpers. Doubtless, Siéyès admits, there had been exceptions, but they were so few that he might overlook them. "If," he proceeds, "this exclusion is a social crime against the Third Estate, can it not at least be said that it is serviceable to the public good? What! are not the effects of monopoly well known? If it discourage those whom it repels, do not we know that it deteriorates those whom it favours? Do not we know that every work which is exempt from competition will be made more dearly and more indifferently?" The author is pitiless on the classes occupying, in his opinion, a false position. His logic crushes them, and is pressed home. "It is enough to have shown that the alleged usefulness of a privileged order in the public service is but a chimera, that without it all that is toilsome in this service is performed by the Third Estate, that without it the higher positions would be incalculably better filled, that they ought naturally to be the reward of recognised

talents and services, and that, if the privileged have usurped all lucrative and honourable posts, this is at once a hateful crime against the generality of citizens and treason against the commonwealth."

The practical conclusion to such an argument is not far to seek; it is nothing short of the abolition of the useless privileged classes. It was under the influence of these ideas that the *cahiers*[1] were drawn up which the electors send to their representatives, and according to which the Third Estate had to consider itself not as the mandatory of a class, but of an entire nation, allowing no other deliberation than an individual one. In case of refusal from the privileged classes, the representatives should form themselves into a national assembly, in order to draw up a constitution. The bases of this constitution were contained in the *cahiers*, replete with ideas borrowed from Rousseau, and which aimed at making the revolution less of a political than a social reform, the predominant cry being for equality rather than for liberty.

The *cahiers* of the clergy and nobility were far from having the character of this universal humanity and social conversion; they agreed in one point though, the abolition of privileges in matters of imposts and feudal right by purchase or indemnification. But, in anything else, the nobility refused to make the least concession, claimed nothing except for itself, occupied itself with

[1] The *cahiers* were instructions in writing transmitted by the electors to their representatives, to guard against trafficking of conscience and tergiversation on the latter's part.

questions of etiquette, and showed itself hostile to the clergy.

The clergy spoke quite differently; it demanded a monarchical Constitution, in which the legislative power should belong to the States; the equality of all men before the law; the reform of the national Church; primary instruction, universal and gratuitous; unity of legislation, and many similar measures. It might truly be said that there were but two orders left—the minor clergy, representing the Third Estate of the ecclesiastical army, and sharing all the ideas of the people; and the bishops, drawn from among the nobility, having all the vanities and pretensions of their caste. In the battle about to be fought there was face to face nothing but the people and the aristocracy.

The elections had resulted in bringing together eleven hundred and thirty-nine deputies, two hundred and ninety-one belonging to the clergy, two hundred and seventy to the nobility, and five hundred and seventy-eight composing the Third Estate. Among the latter were two priests, twelve nobles, and a hundred and twenty magistrates.[1]

Such was the assembly that was to deal the death-blow to feudal monarchy in France.

[1] The members elected for the States-General were in reality three hundred and eight members for the clergy, two hundred and eighty-five for the nobility, and six hundred and twenty-one for the Third Estate; but the nobility of Brittany, and some other deputies of the same order, refused to take their seats.

CHAPTER II.

§ I.—THE STATES-GENERAL.

(*From 5th May*, 1789, *to 6th October*, 1789.)

SPRING had come, after a most severe winter, with trade almost at a standstill, and hungry crowds infesting the Paris streets. For, alas! the workman cannot even earn those fifteen *sous* a day which a certain Réveillon had declared to be sufficient, and for which outspoken opinion collective workmanhood has rewarded him by first sacking his house, and then burning it.

The fifth day of May, had been definitely fixed for the opening of the States-General, and, its misery notwithstanding, the capital was in a transport of enthusiasm; discord and hatred seemed to have vanished for the nonce, to make room for mutual goodwill, in anticipation of the glory that was to accrue to France from these contemplated supreme measures of universal reform.

The ceremony was to take place at Versailles, in the Hall of the *Hôtel des Menus Plaisirs*,[1] specially adapted and decorated for the occasion under the King's personal supervision.

The day previous a religious service, attended with great pomp, at which the King, Queen, Court, and all the

[1] The expenses for certain royal ceremonies, entertainments, and spectacles, were formerly called *Menus plaisirs*, and the office of their administration was also the *Menus Plaisirs* or the *Hôtel des Menus Plaisirs*.

deputies were present, was held. Thousands of strangers flocked to Versailles, but their enthusiasm was somewhat nipped in the bud at observing that the sumptuary regulations and questions of obsolete etiquette with regard to the members of the States-General were revived in all their force.

The next day the royal session was opened amidst the hushed silence of the spectators, who crowded the building from floor to ceiling. The deputies were called, and introduced according to the order established in 1614. The sole innovation, significant of the times, was the Third Estate remaining covered, the same as the clergy and nobility. Formerly they had been bare-headed, and obliged to kneel down when speaking. At last the King spoke, and his words were eagerly listened to. The nation wanted to know whether he felt disposed to grant the States-General that power so urgently required by the pressing circumstances, or whether he intended to keep them in the old groove. They had not long to wait. Instead of prudently tracing the course they should take, he invited them to be agreed among themselves, spoke of his urgent need of money, and expressed his fears at the impending innovations, without alluding to one measure that could give satisfaction. In fact, it was but too evident that he regarded them not so much as legislators than as tax-payers, and that for him the crisis lay in the finances, not in the institutions. The consequence of this was that the direction of the States-General was abandoned to the most violent party feelings; that opposition

became more envenomed than ever, because they who resisted imagined the Court to be on their side, whilst the would-be reformers grew more bold, because they believed the Court to be against them; and that, in fine, the people, suspicious of this royal lukewarmness and inertia, which it attributed to ill-will and dishonesty, took into their own hands the initiative of the revolution.

Says Carlyle:—"The omen of the 'slouch hats clapt on,'" meaning thereby the Third Estate covering itself when the King had done speaking, "shows the Commons Deputies to have made up their minds on one thing: that neither noblesse nor clergy shall have precedence of them; hardly even Majesty itself."

When, therefore, the morning after the opening of the States-General, the Third Estate entered the hall appropriated to their use on account of their number, and found that the nobility and clergy were assembled in adjacent apartments, they sent them word that they were awaiting them to proceed in common to the verifying of their credentials. The nobility answered that the three orders, forming three distinct assemblies, had each to verify separately the credentials of its deputies. Suiting the action to the word, they began to do so, after which they declared themselves constituent. The clergy gave a similar answer, but delayed the verifying, proposing a conference between the delegates of the three respective orders, to remove the hitch. These conferences were accepted, and then the first two orders proclaimed their willingness to abandon their privileges with regard

to matters of imposts, but refused absolutely to consent to the voting per head. To this they were mainly instigated by the plotting of the Queen and the Count d'Artois. The Government, in granting double representation, had left the question of voting individually in abeyance, for two reasons. Averse as they altogether were to the convocation of the States-General, they were still desirous of the voting individually on matters of finance, for by this only could they overcome the resistance of the privileged classes. But on political issues they preferred the voting by order, so as to check the encroachments of the Third Estate. By this double-dealing they found themselves on the horns of a dilemma, from which they could only extricate themselves by sowing the elements of dissension in the States-General, hoping in this way to annul its existence. The conferences were broken up. The nobles persisted in the separate verification, and decreed that the voting by order, and the right of rejection, which each order possessed separately, were constitutive of the monarchy. The clergy would, no doubt, have followed the example of the nobles had not the Third Estate sent them a fervent appeal to co-operate with them, in the name of "the God of peace," and of the national interest, for the maintenance of the public peace, and the welfare of the commonwealth. The clergy were on the point of uniting with the Commons when the King interfered by again proposing a conference of the delegates of the three orders, he submitting a conciliatory plan, which was accepted by the clergy, the nobles rejecting

it, whilst the commons maintained a system of inactivity, refusing to do aught that might render them constituent in the eyes of the nation.

Five weeks passed in these fruitless negotiations. The Court began to take the alarm, for the people accused it of endeavouring to dissolve the States-General. Hordes of armed men infested the country, pillaging country seats and farms, the citizens combined to protect their property and to support the Third Estate. The latter then thought the decisive moment had struck, and determined to take the first revolutionary step by arrogating to themselves the legislative power. On the motion of Siéyès, who showed concord had become impossible, and that inaction would be culpable on the commons' part, it was decided that the two remaining orders should be invited collectively and individually to join their fellow-deputies to assist at the general verification of their powers. At the same time an address explaining the resolution was sent to the King, and the verification of absent as well as present members was begun. This energetic measure, to be followed by one more energetic still, had the effect of bringing over three clergy delegates from Poitou, who were joined the next day by six others.

The verification finished, the Third Estate, on another motion of Siéyès, who having shown that they represented ninety-six hundredth parts of the nation, declared themselves constituent, and took the name of National Assembly, "as the only one that was suitable; firstly, because the members of which it was composed were the

sole representatives legitimately and publicly known and accredited; secondly, because they had been elected directly by nearly the whole of the nation; thirdly, because their representation was one and indivisible, no deputy, no matter in what order or class he may have been chosen, having the right of exercising his functions apart from the present assembly."

After this the National Assembly decreed that all imposts not having been consented to by the nation were virtually to be considered as illegally levied, but that with a view to a final arrangement they should continue to be collected provisionally, unless the Assembly were dissolved. They also declared the national debt under the safeguard of the States, promising to find immediate means to lessen the public misery produced by scarcity.

The Court party, astounded at so much firmness, boldness, and ability, especially when the clergy, on the morning following the declaration, united themselves by a vote of 149 against 115 to the Third Estate, endeavoured, in the absence of Necker, to counteract these measures by tampering with the King, at best of a vacillating nature. The minister, uneasy at the violent turn affairs were taking, had advised a second royal session in which the King should take the initiative by granting all that public opinion demanded, and himself recommended the union of the three orders. The Court supported the plan, but with its usual frivolity, bred by doubts and fears, far from striking the iron while hot, they persuaded Louis to show himself in all his royal pomp, to have

tribunes erected, and to suspend the National Assembly for three days. This was, no doubt, a subterfuge to gain time; and, the better to prevent the commons assembling, the building in which they held their sitting was closed, on pretext of decorating it for the proposed session.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 20th of June, it was publicly proclaimed through Versailles that a *séance royale* was going to be held three days later, and that the States-General were not to meet till then. Yet Bailly, the President of the National Assembly,[1] though he had a King's letter in his pocket which informed him that the sittings of the Assembly were to be suspended for three days, went quietly on the self-same day to the *Hôtel des Menus Plaisirs*.

He did not fear to disobey the royal orders, and presented himself, with his fellow-deputies, at the door of the building, entrance to which was refused by the captain of the *Gardes Françaises*, who showed the royal warrant for this high-handed proceeding. All that this officer would do was to allow the president and secretaries to bring away the papers, lest they should be destroyed by the workmen.

If the courtiers intended to hasten the crisis by the indignity to which the National Assembly had been subjected through their machinations, and such no doubt was their intention, they surely had succeeded. Bailly himself, in his *Mémoires*, tells us that while the delegates

[1] Sylvain Bailly (born 1736), Professor of Astronomy, was first elected to be President of the National Assembly, and afterwards became first mayor of Paris.

were standing in groups in the Avenue of Paris at Versailles, discussing the matter, amidst the loudly expressed sympathy of the people, the courtiers were jeering at them from the windows of the palace. At first some of the deputies resolved to go straight to the King, who was at Marly, while others proposed to open the sitting on the very esplanade of the royal abode. Amidst this confusion, a voice cried "To the Tennis Court," and thither they betook themselves, the crowd guarding the approaches. Arrived there, they took an oath never to separate, and to pursue their debates wheresoever they had an opportunity, until the kingdom's constitution should be established on solid and firm foundations.

This was scarcely what the courtiers had counted upon, and to prevent the National Assembly from finding a shelter they secretly hired the Tennis Court from its proprietor, thinking that this would put an effectual stop to all future gatherings. Not to be outdone, the States-General assembled in the church of St. Louis, whither they were joined by a hundred and forty members of the clergy and two of the nobility, the meeting adjourning until the next day, full of apprehension as to the expected *coup d'état*. On the morrow (June 23) the King, passing through a perfect army, which occupied every coigne of vantage, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the commons, proceeded to the States-General, whom, in a threatening speech, he commanded to divide themselves into three orders, forbidding them to occupy themselves with any questions concerning either the ancient and constitutive privileges of the

three orders, the form to be given to the constitution in the approaching debates, or feudal property. After which he made some apparent concessions, winding up his oration by, "I command you to separate immediately, and to proceed to-morrow morning to the apartments appropriated to your respective orders to resume your discussions."

When the King was gone, followed by the nobles and part of the clergy, the commons remained in their seats, dumb-stricken, astounded, irresolute. Then Mirabeau rose.

Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Count de Mirabeau, was born in the year 1749 at Bignon, near Nemours, of an old Italian family, and received an ill-regulated but very comprehensive education. Loose and dissolute in morals, possessed nevertheless of great and indisputable talents, he was the very man whom France needed in such a supreme moment. He himself had suffered too much from paternal autocracy, backed up by kingly absolutism, not to be devoted body and soul to a system that aimed at overthrowing all tyranny. Of noble birth, he had joined the plebeians, not that he loved aristocracy less, but that he loved liberty more.

He starts to his feet to tell his brother deputies not to put their trust in the promises of the King, pointing out to them that the King only derives his power from them, and much more, until he is interrupted by a royal message, transmitted by the usher Brézé, to disperse. "You have heard the King's orders," says the messenger. "Yes, sir," answers Mirabeau,

" we have heard what the King was advised to say; and you, who cannot be the interpreter of his orders to the States-General, you who have neither place nor right of speech here, you are not the man to remind us of it. Go, sir, tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that nothing but the force of bayonets shall send us hence!" Which speech is followed by an enthusiastic applause of the States-General, who declare unanimously the legitimacy of their previous resolutions, and the inviolability of their members.

The Court, exasperated at this flagrant instance of disobedience, talked of punishment; nay, more, slighted royal authority was to be avenged. Necker, who had refused to take part in the royal session, had been dismissed that morning, though in the evening he had been recalled; a great attempt was to be made to regain the royal prestige. Troops were to be gathered immediately from all sides, and would have been, no doubt, if the hostile attitude of the Versailles population had permitted it; instead of which the *Gardes Françaises*, present on the spot, refused to take up arms against the crowd surrounding the building of the States-General, while from Paris came the rumour that forty thousand men were ready at a moment's notice to march upon the Court. The latter began to be afraid, sent for troops elsewhere, and deferred the struggle by force, for force was now the only resource left to the privileged classes. In six weeks they had alienated every moral power that had been left to them, and the physical was soon to be taken from them also.

The following day the majority of the clergy, and the day after that, the minority of the nobles, joined the commons. On the 27th of June the King, once more compromising his dignity, commanded the remainder of the two privileged orders, still sitting apart, to unite with the hostile deputies, giving the former to understand, however, that their union would be temporary, so that time might be gained to concert measures against the rebels.

Meanwhile, the Queen and the Count d'Artois prevailed once more upon the King to vindicate his authority by armed force. An army of forty thousand men, eight regiments of which were foreigners, were encamped in and about Paris, the Marshal de Broglie having the command-in-chief, the Baron de Besenval directing the Paris contingent. But with their usual carelessness and frivolity, bred from a certain contempt for the people, the courtiers made no mystery of these proceedings, in consequence of which their schemes were so quickly counteracted that no time was left to them for proper combination and arrangement.

As may be imagined, "many-tongued rumour" had set afloat the most absurd stories of the Court's intentions. The King was going to dissolve the National Assembly, to declare the State bankrupt, to starve Paris, and to employ other strong measures. In such a high-strung tension about a fortnight passed, the cafés and revolutionary clubs adding their daily quota of inflammatory gossip and speechifying in the open air. Even the National Assembly began to fear for its safety, and

addressed a memorial to the King, respectfully requesting him to dismiss the troops from Versailles, so that they might discuss in full freedom. Louis replied, curtly, that he had convened these troops to prevent trouble, and that if the States-General took umbrage at it they could migrate to Noyon or Soissons. This proved the signal for the struggle, which the Court, not to be behindhand, inaugurated.

As we have already seen, Necker, in consequence of his refusal to take part in the royal session of the 23rd of June, had been dismissed in the morning, but knowing the popularity of the minister, and that his dismissal would be the premature signal for hostilities, he had been that same evening invited to remain at his post; he was simply kept to cover, by his presence, the conspiracy in process of formation. When the Court thought itself ready to commence its reprisals, Necker received the order to resign his portfolio, and to start immediately and secretly for Brussels. This was late in the evening of the 11th of July. On the 12th the rumour spread through the capital like wildfire.

Though scarcely born, the Revolution drew men towards each other, to interchange their ideas and their consequent opinions. A great need of daily intercommunication, an anxiety and impatience to learn the news of the hour, produced the intermingling of individual with individual, and with the small sheet that becomes a newspaper, with the daily chronicle that assumes the proportion of a power, and which is now the very food of France, the cafés multiply, enlarge, and change into clubs.

Their tables serve as sudden tribunes, from which customers deliver orations, shaping their discussions into motions and amendments. Their gossip is the unprinted press of the Revolution; a man's politics are judged from the café he frequents, the same as in old Athens a citizen's sentiments were known by his visiting either the Lyceum or the Portico.

Among the thousand and one establishments devoted to refreshment and political small-talk the seven arcades of the *Café de Foi* became the Portico of the Revolution.

On the morning of the twelfth of July, a Sunday, the streets are all placarded with large printed papers, headed, "In the name of the King," inviting peaceable citizens not to go out of doors, not to be alarmed, and not to collect in crowds. The meaning of this invitation is not very clear. And the mystery is not solved by the different squadrons of cavalry which gallop from all parts of Paris towards the Place Louis Quinze, and endeavour to preserve their composure, amidst the gibes, the jeers, and even the missiles of the assembled multitude. A vague alarm spreads through the capital. The crowd streams on to the Palais Royal, where they hope to find the explanation of these bellicose proceedings. Nor have they long to wait. "Buy the latest news, the dismissal of M. Necker!" cry the vendors. At this cry a young man, named Camille Desmoulins (born 1762), who had already distinguished himself as the author of a book under the title of *Free France*, jumps upon a chair, a pistol in his hand, and addresses the crowd. "Citizens, there is not

a moment to lose. The dismissal of M. Necker is the alarm-bell of the St. Bartholomew of patriots. This very evening the foreign legions will march from the Champ de Mars to make an end of us. There is but one resource left to us, to take up arms." "To arms!" is the thundering echo of the crowd, seizing in the nearest print or picture-shop the busts of Necker and of the Duke of Orleans, who side with the people, and carrying them in triumph through the most populous quarters. The troops endeavour to disperse the crowd, and the Prince de Lambesc, at the head of a regiment of cavalry, makes a charge in the Tuileries, killing and wounding several persons. This proves the spark that sets the whole town ablaze. The alarm-bell is sounded, the barriers are burned, the armourers' shops are broken into and pillaged. As in all popular risings, unprincipled scoundrels mix with the people and increase the confusion and terror. The *Gardes Françaises* march from their barracks, where they had been confined by authority, and instead of acting against the populace, charge the foreign regiments with their bayonets, driving them from the Place Louis Quinze, where they had been stationed. The Baron de Besenval calls in the troops from the Champ de Mars, but the soldiers refuse to fight against their fellow-countrymen, and the Swiss nobleman is compelled to retreat before the onslaught of the populace and the *Gardes Françaises.*

Meanwhile the municipal electors assembled at the Hôtel de Ville endeavour to quell the outbreak, or at least to direct it, convene the primary district assemblies,

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and abandon the arms stored in the town hall (Hôtel de Ville) to the multitude. They organise themselves into a provisional municipal council, under the provost of merchants, Flesselles, and decree the formation of a citizen-guard of forty-eight thousand men—wearing the blue and red cockade, the Paris colours—with which the following morning the *Gardes Françaises* and the soldiers of the watch are incorporated; corps of volunteers are stationed everywhere, the district assemblies hold permanent sittings, the pavement is torn up, the sewers are opened, the populace is in search of arms everywhere.

On the third day (14th July) the crowd marches to the Invalides, where they take possession of twenty-eight thousand muskets and twenty cannon; from there they direct their steps to the Bastille, garrisoned only by a hundred and fourteen Swiss and some superannuated invalids. They summon the governor to surrender; a violent battle ensues, for the governor has received orders to hold out until evening. He treats the crowd with scorn. After five hours of sanguinary fighting, during which the people had ninety wounded and seventy-three killed, while the besieged lost but one man, the *Gardes Françaises* place their cannon in battery against the drawbridge. The garrison consents to surrender. During the negotiations, however, a smaller bridge was captured, and the populace, pouring into the stronghold, killed the governor, three officers, and several soldiers. Intoxicated with their victory, they carry the keys of the Bastille to the Hôtel de Ville, and, eager for new victims to satiate their thirst for blood, they

massacre Flesselles, who the day previous had refused them arms, and whom they suspected of having wished to play them false.

The National Assembly was meanwhile sitting day and night at Versailles, calm but resolute, insisting upon the recall of Necker.

From a letter found in the pockets of the governor of the Bastille, and said to have been written by Flesselles, the Parisians expected nothing less than to be attacked during the night; consequently they took vigorous measures to receive the enemy. Barricades were thrown up, shot and ball manufactured, pikes forged; women carried large paving-stones to the house-tops to rain them down upon the soldiers should they come. But nothing of this happened; on the contrary, de Besenval and his troops, under cover of darkness, decamped from the Champ de Mars.

While these events were going on in Paris, what were Versailles and the Court doing? The latter, with unparalleled fatuity, still believed that this was a mere revolt, to be quelled by the strong arm of the military, and, as such, the Court made its preparations. The soldiers were visited by the Queen and princes in person, who distributed wine and money amongst them; every avenue was guarded, and all communication with the capital interrupted.

Though ignoring a great deal of what was transpiring in Paris, the National Assembly was fully cognisant of the plots hatched by the Court. But it was powerless to act; it was apprehensive as to its own safety. The

departure of the King was spoken of, and it was feared that the deputies would be left to the mercy of the foreign troops. Their only protection was the report penetrating now and then, even as far as Versailles, of the doings of Paris.

Notwithstanding their danger, the National Assembly remained firm and unshaken, and having heard the news of the taking of the Bastille and the subsequent murder of Flesselles, they sent a third deputation to the King—two had already gone before—entreating him to dismiss the military. The monarch answered it in person. He also had been informed by the Duke de Liancourt of the fall of the Parisian stronghold, and, on the advice of that faithful old servant, had written to the Count d'Artois to inform him that he had abandoned all idea of coercion. Without the smallest escort, and on foot, Louis came to the Assembly. He reassured the deputies by a simple and touching speech, in which he informed them that he had given orders for the departure of the troops. "You were afraid," he said; "well, I have come to trust myself to you." He was enthusiastically applauded, surrounded, and re-conducted by the whole of the Assembly, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. A deputation of a hundred members of the Assembly was sent to Paris, which was making ready for a regular siege, to announce the reconciliation of the King and the Assembly. This deputation was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Bailly and Lafayette were among its members. The first was offered the mayorship of Paris, the second the command of the Citizen or National Guard.

Both accepted, and on their return to Versailles they advised the King to seal the peace with his people by his presence in the capital. Dissuaded by the Queen and the princes, Louis nevertheless listened to this advice, though far from convinced that it would lead to any good. So much did he fear the mob's violence that before starting he made dispositions for a regency in case aught should befall him. A deputation of the National Assembly accompanied him to Paris, where they arrived on the 17th of July, at the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by a silent but threatening crowd. Nor did it desist from its sombre attitude until the King, appearing on the balcony, donned the Parisian colours intermixed with the royal ones. Louis concluded the reconciliation by confirming the formation of the National Guard and the provisional municipality, and by approving the nominations of Lafayette and Bailly, thus according from compulsion, what the Revolution had already wrested from him.

One would have thought that with such stirring events going on in their midst the Parisians would hardly have cared for frivolity—theatres, and other amusements; but it was not so. The people lead in triumph an old man, freed from the cells of the stronghold, and make him the emblem of the Revolution. The journalists and men of letters coin an epigram on the event—"The Bastille is taken, and we are henceforth without shelter." The people's victory is bodily transported on to the stage, where it is enacted by the very *Gardes Françaises* who took part in the reality. A modeller executes a counterfeit of the Bastille, which

adorns the mantelpieces of every drawing-room. Some pretty women, escorted through the ruins by the Count de Mirabeau, take each a stone on the platform, and throw it down among the people with the cry of "Liberty," where it is picked up and sold at so much per pound—at all events, at a higher figure than the price of meat. The celebrated Chevalier d'Eon sends a few pounds of these relics to Lord Stanhope; the stone-mason Palloy solicits again and again an authorisation for the carting away of the rubbish, and, at last, begins the job before the craved permission has been granted. On the spot stalls are erected for the sale of lead, iron, and kindred materials, last remnants of the "pretty stone jug." Palloy is the great trader in these relics—he dispatches travellers all over the country, who become missionaries of freedom. He sends to every county the model of the dismantled fortress, executed with its very stones. Every envoy of three cases is accompanied by a detachment of the National Guard. Bon-bon boxes, inkstands, nicknacks, are manufactured out of the stones of the Bastille; its chain and ironwork are struck into medals, intended to be displayed on the breasts of men born to be free.

The Revolution, terrible, notwithstanding all this comic by-play, sanguinary in its very swaddling-clothes, produces already another effect. The adherents of the *ancien régime* become frightened, despite the measures of repression, which, as has been wittily said, "arise like the rainbow when the storm is over." The nobility and clergy who have remained steadfast to their old traditions, divide into two parties, the one which wishes

to accomplish a counter-revolution in the interior, the other which wishes to invoke aid from without. The latter faction is the more numerous. The noble who stays behind must be very wedded to his habits, must be very anxious about his treasures and collections, must be very fond of his ancestral domains. The King is abandoned by nearly all; most of them think what one has the frankness to write, "You did not wish to be my King. I no longer wish to be your subject." With this they take their country, embodied in their white *cocarde*, elsewhere. It is a wholesale exodus. Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, England, each receives its share of these great names who are no longer French.

From Rome, high-born ladies write for their domestics, and send instructions for their daughters to be placed in a convent. The canton of Berne is so crowded with fugitives that the rent of a house exceeds its entire cost of construction. The younger and more fervent members of the aristocracy go to Coblentz, for what purpose we shall see hereafter. Only those remain who are too old and decrepit to move. It is not worth while to disturb themselves to die. Every day 500,000 crowns in specie are sold at the entrance of the Palais Royal, taken away in hollow walking-sticks that contain six hundred louis. Two hundred passports are asked for daily. Within two months of the taking of the Bastille, M. Necker complains that more than six thousand of these documents have been granted to the richest inhabitants. Foreigners depart also, taking with them their custom, and ruining trade. There are but

three Englishmen left in Paris. Painters, sculptors, engravers, artists, everybody migrates; the great dancer Vestris starts for London, followed by half the *corps de ballet.*

In vain does the municipality try to check this, by decreeing that no passport shall be granted, except on the certificate of a medical man. Not to be outdone, the aristocracy feigns illness, or obtains certificates by underhand means. A new law is passed, and the signature of the commissary of the section is required, who compares the features of the intending traveller with the certificate, and often decides for himself, as in the case of the Archbishop of Rheims, suffering from consumption, that the doctors are alarmists, and that the patient may safely remain in France; all of which severities do not prevent the Faubourg St. Germain from being deserted, and the aristocratic streets of Grenelle, St. Dominique, de l'Université, from being abandoned, and only showing empty houses with placards on their doors, "House to be let or sold."

The smaller portion of the nobility who prefer to remain at home, do so in the hope of obstructing the legislative progress of the Revolution by their hostile votes. They declare that, seeing the imperious circumstances of the State, they will henceforth take part in the debates of the Assembly.

Necker had been recalled, and carried in triumph through the streets of Paris. He took into his counsel some of the deputies belonging to the majority in the Assembly; he appeared earnestly desirous to march into

the road of reform, but he was unable to reinstate order, calm, and prosperity, into the kingdom. The insurrection had made away with all notions of obedience and subordination. Add to this that trade was almost at a standstill, that Paris was literally starving, and we shall be able to form an idea of the perpetual state of ferment. The municipal electors had resigned their functions, and transmitted them to a hundred and twenty administrators, elected by the districts; but the new body having no law to guide it, surrounded by obstacles, obliged to regulate everything without precedent, police, public supplies, justice, armed force, and the like municipal duties, bent beneath the burden of its gigantic task. The National Guard, with which had been incorporated the paid companies of the *Gardes Françaises*, were incessantly on duty to escort the convoys of grain, to disperse the gathering crowd, and its chief fully deserved his popularity by his untiring vigilance, devotion, and firmness. But his efforts were not always sufficient to curb the popular fury, excited, as has been said, by secret agents, whose principals have remained unknown. In one of these sudden outbursts the mob arrested two former administrators, Foulon and Berthier, accused of belonging to the Famine Pact, and, despite the heroic endeavours of Lafayette to save them, massacred them in front of the Hôtel de Ville.

The excitement of the capital had communicated itself to the provinces, and in several towns the mob imitated the taking of the Bastille by seizing the citadels frowning down upon them. Suddenly the rumour spread that

the men who were taking part in all these risings were pillaging the granaries and cutting the green corn in the fields. Incited by this the country-people took up arms, and the peasants began a new *Jacquerie* against the nobles. In the Mâconnais and Beaujolais seventy-two castles are burned down. The hungry crowds clamour for bread from the trembling nobles. At St. Denis, the artisans are starving, and behead the mayor, whom they suspect of having his granaries full of corn. The National Guards and the municipalities, organised everywhere on the model of Paris, show themselves more inclined to protect than to check these disorders. Not only do the nobles resist openly, but they hatch plots for the wholesale destruction of the people. "M. de Memmay, lord of Quincey, invites the soldiers, workmen, and peasants, to a fête at his château, in honour of triumphant liberty. Scarcely has the dancing commenced before the host retires under the pretext of leaving his guests to their undisturbed enjoyment, in reality to set fire to a match communicating with a mine dug underneath the dancers' feet. The place is blown up, the killed and wounded bestrewing the spot.

"In another parish the lord of the manor confiscates the only existing fountain by having it enclosed within a wall, thus denying even a drop of water to the wretched beings who have not a crust of bread to still their gnawing hunger. Elsewhere thirty peasants are hanged for having taken some withered twigs; at Douai, Parliament executes twelve villagers who have taken part in a revolt against the monopolists; at Mâcon, twenty

peasants, who were hungry, and refused to pay the tithes, fell under the axe of the feudal executioner; the nobles of Brest want to hand over the town to the English; everywhere, in fact, the nobility conspire against the people." [1]

Surely, it is not to be wondered at that those who have the good fortune to escape avenge themselves by destroying every castle and mansion for miles round.

The National Assembly, standing between a discredited Government and a famished and insurgent nation, was the sole power that could check this anarchy; it ought, from the very first, to have taken the administration into its own hands, provided a Committee of public supply, and given direct orders to the civil and military authorities. At the tidings of the fury of the peasants and the burning of the castles, a violent discussion ensued as to the measures to have property respected. The only way this could be accomplished was by the abolition of all privileges. In the evening of the 4th of August, the Viscount de Noailles gave the first signal by proposing the redemption of all feudal rights, and the suppression of all personal servitude. A great many other nobles followed his example, by sacrificing all their privileges to such an extent that when the sitting was finished "the feudal *régime* was virtually abolished," and all citizens were declared equal before the law, admissible to all ecclesiastic, military, and civil employments and dignities. The enthusiasm

[1] Hippolyte Magen, *Histoire Populaire de la Révolution Française.*

became general, the sacrificial motions followed each other in such quick succession that the secretaries had barely time to write them down, and the Assembly adjourned amidst transports of patriotic excitement, proclaiming Louis the "restorer of French liberty," and shouting, "Long live the King!"

There is an old proverb about the evening's dissipation standing the test of the morning's reflection. When the time came for transforming these general resolutions into sober and practical edicts, and for discussing the details of their execution, it was found that the temporary intoxication had materially calmed down. Obstacles were thrown in the way, difficulties appeared, the nobility and clergy showed their egotism by wanting to draw back under the pretext of having exceeded the instructions received from their constituents. Louis XVI. himself became frightened at this legislative insurrection, far more to be feared than the rising of the 14th of July, and which a royalist nicknamed the St. Bartholomew of property. Said the King, "I can but admire the sacrifice, but I will never consent to deprive myself of my nobility and clergy. . . . If I am obliged to give way to force, I can but give way, but in that case there will be no longer either monarchy or a monarch in France." In fact, when the decrees were submitted to him for signature, he declined them, saying, "that at best they were texts for future reforms." Upon which the Assembly declared that their decrees were constitutive, that they had no need of the royal sanction, that the King's sole business was to promulgate them.

This led to the Assembly, hitherto a confused mass of different opinions, grouping itself into clearly defined parties—the Left composed of Constitutionalists, the Right composed of partisans of the *ancien régime*, the Centre composed of those who sought to combine and reconcile these two great conflicting opinions. Never was there a wider career open to eloquence, but never also was there such a vast array of talent gathered beneath one roof. The Right counted among its orators Cazalès and Maury; the one simple, ardent, and easy-going; the other sophistical, fluent, and erudite. The Centre could boast of a Mounier, a Mallouet, a Lally-Tollendal, devout adherents to the English constitution, and anxious that the Revolution should adopt this form of government. The Left was rendered famous by a Barnave, a Duport, a Lameth, an association of young and brilliant talents, full of patriotism and hope in the future, supplemented by Siéyès (1748–1836), a systematic and independent thinker, endowed with a prodigious power of conception and ratiocination. His reputation, even among the people, was immense, and nearly the whole of the Constitution was his work and that of his disciples. But above them all throned Mirabeau, the veritable tribune and representative of the people, possessed of all the passions, and all the hatred against despotism, but, perhaps also, of nearly all the revolutionary genius, because he alone in the whole Assembly did not mix with his energy of destruction and his desire for freedom the least attempt at speculative dreaming; because his enlightened and practical mind

was only inspired by that which seemed possible, positive, and true. This ostracised aristocrat, analysing every project, profiting by the ideas of others by making himself their ardent promoter, gave such a terrible impulse to the Revolution, that it may be doubted whether without him it would have strode so rapidly and vigorously forward. In moments of supreme danger, under the most trying circumstances, his genius was seen at its best; it flashed upon his fellow-deputies; it accomplished the work of years in an instant; when grand resolutions were to be taken, it was quick as lightning, though substantial and compact, as if matured by meditation; argument, sophism, invective, jostled each other in his mind, but by the time they passed his lips they were reduced to well-arranged forms of speech, which evoked tumultuous acclamations. Sincerely devoted to the Revolution for the Revolution's sake, untrammelled by any moral or religious prejudice, tainted by the serpent's trail of the disorders of his youth, "he led people to expect everything from his talents, from his ambition, from his vices, from the crippled state of his fortune; and authorised by the cynicism of his conversation every suspicion and calumny."[1]

Side by side with these "kings of speech" was a crowd of men remarkable for their enlightened minds, the generosity of their sentiments, their habits of thinking; bold to undertake and to destroy, fearless at resistance, full of faith in their sublime mission; in fine, "adding to their revolutionary activity and energy a character of

[1] Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution*, vol. i., p. 125.

dreamy abstraction and metaphysic generality partaking much of the master minds of the eighteenth century, of the literary and philosophic origin which preceded social reform in France, of the influence of those theories of which Rousseau had been the eloquent spokesman." [1]

Thus, when in a few hours they had rased to the ground the social fabric, the Assembly (4th August) devoted many protracted sittings to the inditing of a "Declaration of the Rights of man and citizen," which should serve as a preface to the Constitution, and which partook of the nature of a metaphysical treatise, interlarded with layers of materialism. It is greatly to be regretted that this Declaration, intended to imbue the citizens with an idea of their dignity and importance, should shortly afterwards have been invoked as a code destructive of the very Constitution.

The adoption of the Declaration of Rights was followed by long and numerous discussions respecting the form of Government. If the deputies were to abide by the instructions contained in their *cahiers*, which were almost unanimous in demanding a representative monarchy, the English constitution appeared the most appropriate to serve them as a model. This model, however, seemed to have but few partisans, nor is this difficult to explain, seeing the causes and the aim of the Revolution. The Revolution had been undertaken socially against the aristocracy, politically against royalty. Its claim against the first was equality, against the second liberty; the nobles should be destroyed, and the royal

[1] Villemain, *Littérature du dix-huitième siècle*, 53e Leçon.

power tied hand and foot. These were the principles that inspired the Assembly in its debates and acts, and the people in their insurrections; in fact, from its very birth the Revolution had leaped, without intermediate gradations, from absolute monarchy to a democratic republic. It was therefore impossible constitutionally to legalise an aristocracy, hence the sole idea of the Government to be established was this: the nation commands, the King executes; the nation is sovereign, the King is her first mandatory. This was the idea which Siéyès amplified with implacable rigour. It was absurd, he maintained, to create a senate or higher chamber, whether appointed by the nation or the King, to give to one man the right to check the will of an entire nation. In this he was supported by the people, who, ignoring what power really was, wanted the Assembly, in which they had confidence, to be everything, the King, whom they distrusted, nothing. Therefore, it was not difficult to foresee what the answer would be when these two questions were put: Shall the legislative machine be composed of one or two chambers? Shall the right of sanction accorded to the King be perpetual or revocable? And accordingly, on the 10th of September it was decided by a large majority that there should be one chamber only, that this chamber should be permanent, that it should have the sole power of initiating laws. The question of the *veto*, or the right of the King to refuse or give his assent to a Bill passed by the Assembly, was more vigorously debated, and Mirabeau was for granting the perpetual or absolute *veto*, but he was outvoted by his

own party—the Constitutionalists. They were compelled to fall back upon the suspensive *veto* from fear of the populace, who, though not in the least understanding the question at issue, were shouting in the streets, "Down with the *veto*." To them it meant a return to the old state of things. They had no notions of representative government; they had only one beacon to guide them, which they followed blindly—their revolutionary instinct. This led to the most violent scenes being enacted daily in the Palais Royal. Become a very hot-bed of sedition, the Assembly itself was threatened, the Royalist deputies were warned that their business would be settled peremptorily by having "light let into their country seats." There was a cry for the general convocation of the district assemblies; it was proposed and even attempted to march on Versailles. Lafayette made the greatest efforts to quell these tumults; there were daily outbreaks between the National Guard and the people, who began to raise their voices against the citizen-despotism. In short, no other course was left open than to vote for the suspensive or temporary *veto*, the law for which was passed on the 21st of September by a majority of six hundred and seventy-three out of nine hundred and ninety-eight votes. The King was invested with it for two sessions only.

Nor did this measure restore order in the disturbed capital, in the entire absence of respected authority, and in the face of the hourly increasing scarcity of food. The municipality had sent for corn from distant parts, which it sold at a loss; but as it had to pass through

literally starving districts, the grain had to be escorted by regiments of National Guards armed to the teeth. Paris was living from hand to mouth; the mayor, Bailly, was worn-out with anxiety and care, whilst Lafayette was continually on the watch for sudden outbreaks. One power was usurping the functions of another; the capital was divided, as it were, into sixty independent republics, mutually jealous, suspicious, obstructive, and defiant.

The future looked very terrible and sombre. The Court was supposed to be hatching plots for revenge, as the King could not be prevailed upon to accept more than two or three articles of the Declaration of Rights, because he could not approve of the others until the Constitution was finished. People spoke of the intentions of those princes who had fled across the frontier, where the King was to join them, and march with a foreign army on Paris; alarm was taken at a regiment which was added to the garrison of Versailles, at two thousand men and officers installed in the palace itself. The Palais-Royal clubs went as far as to demand that Louis XVI. should be severed from his surroundings, and for greater safety reside in Paris, in order to ensure the supply of food and the completion of the Constitution. "We want a second instalment of revolution," wrote Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and others, in their journals, full of invective and violent insinuations.

The second instalment of Revolution came soon enough. The people learnt that on the 3rd of October the body-guard had been giving a banquet—"fatal as that of Thyestes," says Carlyle—to the officers of the

Versailles garrison; that the King and Queen had been present, and welcomed with ear-deafening shouts of enthusiasm; that the feast having degenerated into an orgy, had become a symposium of treason to the nation; that the tri-coloured cockade had been trampled upon, and a mock charge enacted against the insulted National Assembly and the Parisians.

All this tends but to confirm the suspicions of the people, and as bread is getting dearer and scarcer, a cry rends the air that the aristocrats mean to starve Paris. Early on the 5th of October crowds congregate in every quarter, and in one of the guard-houses of St. Eustache a woman seizes a drum, and beats it to the vocal accompaniment of "Bread! bread!" In another hour the streets are filled with thousands of women echoing the same cry. They make their way to the Hôtel de Ville, where the National Guard open their serried ranks to the furious onslaught, and let them pass to the inside, followed by men, carrying hatchets, who set to pillaging the armoury. Maillard, one of the conquerors of the Bastille, accidentally there, in consultation with M. de Gouvion, a Major-General, proposes to go to Versailles, to attack the evil at its root. For Versailles they start, dragging after them in their headlong rush everything found on their way—carts, carriages, arms, cannon, and every woman they meet.

Meanwhile the representatives of the Commune, or Municipality of Paris, arrive, the alarm-bell sounds, and calls the whole of the National Guard to the Place de Grêve. But the citizens are rather more disposed to

sanction than to quell the tumult, and a grenadier, in the name of his brethren, addresses Lafayette as follows: "The people are unhappy; the source of their unhappiness is at Versailles. We must fetch the King, bring him back to Paris, and exterminate those who have insulted the national colours." In vain does Lafayette represent the consequences of such a rash act. "To Versailles!" is heard from all sides. The suburbs have already sent their contingents of desperadoes, who follow the women on their route to Versailles, uttering horrible imprecations and menaces against the Court, and especially against the Queen; the districts sent their cannon. The uproar becomes general. After eight hours of pleading to desist, Lafayette is obliged to lead his National Guard to Versailles, only obtaining the reluctant consent of the Commune that it shall be accompanied by two of its members; and the troops start on their march amidst the loud acclamations of the mob.

The rumour of their coming had preceded Maillard and his women-contingent to Versailles, and struck terror in the hearts of the courtiers and even of the National Assembly. Mirabeau, never known to flinch, told Mounier to go and inform the King. The troops are called out, and occupy the Place d'Armes. Meanwhile a regular deputation is sent to Louis to induce him to accept the Bill of the Declaration of Rights, which deputation returns with a point-blank refusal of the monarch. It is received with violent murmurs in the Assembly, who seize the opportunity of denouncing the banquet of the 3rd of October. "I disapprove,"

cries Mirabeau, starting to his feet, "of such foolish accusations, but as they are insisted upon I will become an accuser myself, and shall subscribe the accusation the moment it is declared that the King shall be the only inviolable person in France." At this moment Maillard enters, followed by many females. "We are come to Versailles," he addresses the meeting, "to ask for bread and the punishment of the body-guards who have insulted the national colours. This very day a miller has received a note of two hundred francs, asking him to grind corn no longer, and promising him an equal sum every week."

At this unexpected revelation, of which a voice accuses the Archbishop of Paris, a cry of indignation resounds through the hall, and the President of the Assembly is commanded to go to the King to acquaint him with the critical situation.

The women insist upon accompanying the President. Twelve of them, following at his heels, penetrate with him into the inner chambers of the palace, where Louis receives five with his usual good nature, and promises to give immediate orders for the despatch of grain to Paris, and to accept the Declaration of Rights unconditionally.

Outside, in the drenching rain, the people and some of the National Guard are face to face with the body-guard, the ostensible cause of the latest revolt. Amidst all this confusion, the unavoidable consequence of so much irritation, a quarrel springs up between the two hostile parties, in which three of the people are killed,

and which undoubtedly would have become the signal of a most sanguinary struggle if, luckily in time, the order had not arrived for the body-guard to evacuate the place, and re-enter the palace. In this emergency the King is holding council whether he should stay or fly. Some carriages are even got ready; and are waiting at the gates, but are driven back by the National Guard and the people.

At midnight Lafayette arrives with his troops, and the night is passed in a gloomy, threatening silence; the populace staying in the open air, exposed to wind and weather; the King, scarcely reassured by the general's presence, but overcome with fatigue and anxiety, consenting to retire about two o'clock, to snatch a few hours of feverish sleep. Everything remained outwardly calm up till five o'clock, when Lafayette, after having visited the outposts confided to his care, and finding order prevail, and the mob asleep on the soaked ground, bethinks himself also of snatching a few hours' rest.

At six some men, astir betimes, prowling round the castle, find an open gate, and enter. Unfortunately the care of the interior had been left to the body-guard, who may be said to have caused all the mishaps of that night. The intruders seeing some of them at one of the windows attack them with jeers and insulting speech, which is responded to by the discharge of their guns, wounding one of the mob. Immediately the crowd, throwing and trampling down everything before it, make their way into the royal abode, contested inch by

inch by the faithful body-guards, who are mercilessly massacred. The Queen, half-dressed, flies for protection to her husband's apartments. In the midst of this Lafayette arrives on horseback, and is threatened with instantaneous execution. Standing firm amongst the excited multitude, he calls to his aid some of the *Gardes Françaises*, succeeds in clearing the inside of the palace, and to some extent disperses the mob, which has taken refuge in the marble court, where it yells for the King. His Majesty appears, with Lafayette at his side, and also the Queen, to whom the chivalrous hero kneels down and kisses her hand. Loud acclamations of enthusiasm rend the air, the offending body-guards change hats with their brethren of the National Guard, and the tricolour waves everywhere.

However, the scene is not yet finished; cries arise for the King and Royal family to come to Paris, to save the capital from starvation. Accordingly, preparations are made for the journey, whilst the National Assembly spontaneously decrees that henceforth it will not separate itself from the King's person, and that a deputation of a hundred members shall accompany him to the capital.

The vanguard of the mob hastens in advance to announce the victory, but at the gates of Paris is dispersed by a detachment sent by Lafayette in their wake. Two hours later the first ranks of the procession, escorting carts of grain, enter the town, the mob shouting, "We'll no longer want bread, for here comes the baker, the baker's wife, and the little baker boy" (*Voici*

le boulanger, la boulangère, et le petit mitron), meaning the King, Queen, and Dauphin. The procession is so long that it is ten at night before the last waggons have passed the gates. A most strange and motley crowd. First came the regiment of Flanders, the Swiss, the artillery, barrows, and carriages, on which were mounted ragged and haggard women, decorated with the tricolour cockade, and carrying olive branches; then sixty vans with corn, followed by the National Guard, arm in arm with women brandishing pikes, sabres, and pistols, the mob of the suburbs, the body-guard, the National Assembly, on horseback or in carriages, then the coaches of the royal family and the Court, surrounded by all kinds of people, and finally, more grain and luggage-waggons.

The King was installed in the Tuileries, where he was guarded by the citizen militia; the Assembly held its sitting in the Salle du Manège, connected by a passage running through the Terrasse des Feuillants[1] with the royal residence.

These October days completed what the July ones had begun, by bringing Louis into the very home of the Revolution, and subjecting him henceforth to the surveillance of the people, which made every attempt at staying the onward march by force impossible. These events changed the entire aspect of the position of parties; one side thought everything settled for once and all, while the other side, seeing that all resistance had now become hopeless, meekly submitted to their

[1] The spot is at present occupied by two houses bearing the numbers 36 and 38, Rue de Rivoli.

lot, and prepared to emigrate. Three hundred of the deputies requested passports for abroad, which were refused; even several of the moderate party, despairing of liberty, tendered their resignations, notably Mounier and Lally-Tollendal, who swore "not to set foot again in the den of cannibals." The Royalists, instead of ascribing the violent scenes that had taken place to their true source, attributed them to the machinations of the Duke of Orleans, whom they accused of having been seen in company of Mirabeau, exciting the mob, and hounding them on to this outburst of popular fury. This opinion even gained ground among the National Guard. An inquiry was set on foot, which certainly exculpated these two accused personages, but Lafayette compelled the Duke of Orleans to pass some time in England. The Revolution broke out in so many places at once, and was to some extent so well organised, that people were loth to believe that all this could be accomplished without a directing head, and this directing head they thought was the Duke of Orleans, though this prince had neither the talents nor the energy for so great a part. He may have attempted it, but he lacked the firmness necessary in such emergencies. His gold was scarcely needed to stir up the excited passions of a defiant and suspicious nation. It wanted but the envenomed and sanguinary speeches of a Camille Desmoulins and a Marat; but, above all, the Revolution found its most effectual war-cry against a Government that had tolerated the Famine Pact, in the single word "Bread."

§ II.—THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(From 6th October, 1789, to 30th September, 1791.)

THE impression of these October days, when popular strength had triumphed over royal power, was scarcely calculated to give the Government firmness and credit; consequently anarchy became rampant everywhere, authority was respected nowhere. In the provinces the most implacable reprisals were pursued, which the tribunals were powerless to suppress, the armed force in most cases refusing to obey its chiefs. From this we may except the National Assembly, whose authority the National Guards, combining together, were determined to uphold. For religious belief had been substituted revolutionary zeal, of which the rabid fanaticism was perhaps capable of great and daring deeds, but which also proved itself pitiless against every resistance brought to bear upon it by the counter-Revolutionists. "It is difficult," says Mignet,[1] "to imagine the movement which was agitating the capital of France; it was emerging from the peace and repose of servitude; surprised at the novelty of its own position, it became intoxicated with the enthusiasm of liberty." No sacrifice was deemed too great. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the patriotic free gifts.

Twelve women of the middle-class, wives and daughters of some Parisian artists, bring to the National Assembly, in one day, enclosed in a casket, ninety-three playing counters or fishes in silver, three goblets, and

[1] *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, chap. i.

twenty-four buttons of the same metal; in gold, four pairs of bracelets, three lockets, five watch-cases, eight rings, three pairs of ear-rings, five thimbles, two purse slides, a watch-guard, a keepsake, five work-boxes, a crochet-needle, two ladies' dressing-cases, a medal of Frederick V. of Denmark, and a purse containing sixteen louis. The nation votes that the features of these twelve Roman ladies of the eighteenth century shall be preserved to posterity.

The contagion of sacrifice is not long in infecting all classes and all ages. Women are foremost in the rush with their usual generous impetuosity. Their coquetry gives way to patriotism; lockets, chains, necklaces, buckles, ear-rings, hearts, crosses, diamonds, jewels, are offered to the patriotic fund. The men will not be outdone; they take the gold and silver buckles from their shoes, and import a new fashion, steel ones, hight "*boucles à la nation.*" A master-printer, M. Knapen, sets the example, ministers, deputies, every one, follow suit. Statisticians are called; they valuate the silver buckles of the citizen-soldiers at 40,000 francs, and at forty millions of francs the collective bucklehood of the French nation. The Marquis de la Villette brings the buckles of his household strung on a skewer, takes to wearing brass seals to his watch, and proposes to the King to go back to the good old time of Henry IV. and wear silken bows to the shoes. Louvet, the author of *Faublas*, the son of a paper-dealer, starts the idea of converting all these cumbersome royal almanacks, bound in morocco, with

gilt-edges, into patriotic gifts. The whole affair becomes an epidemic, a mania for offerings on the altar of bankruptcy. The King sends 4,721 pounds of silver and 150 pounds of gold plate to the mint, including the superb golden dinner-service of St. Cloud, so beautifully graved and chiselled by the famous Germain in the reign of his predecessor; the Queen contributes 1,803½ pounds in silver plate; and even the handles of the royal dinner-knives are thrown into the melting-pot. Numbers of nobles redeem their plate from the national pawn-office in order to part with it for ever. M. de Breteuil sends 503½ pounds. Religious brotherhoods, Jacobins, Carmelites, Benedictines, Augustines, monks and nuns, Irish and French priests, vie with each other in stripping themselves of their valuables. The united livery-stable keepers of Paris take down the silver and gold vessels from the church of their patron saint. The notary-clerks contribute 7,437 francs. The fencing-masters of Paris, accompanied by the dancing-masters, bring their offering, and make a pretty speech. "Our swords are composed of two metals—silver and steel. Vouchsafe to accept the first for the pressing needs of the present moment. We swear to employ the second in the service of the nation, for the maintenance of liberty." M. Necker gives 100,000 francs, more than a quarter of his revenue; Anonymous sends 40,000 in jewels and plates; the *Comédie Française*, 23,000; the Italian comedians, 12,000; Mademoiselle Dangeville, an actress, her silver toilet-service, weighing close upon thirty-three pounds; M. and Madame Nicolet,

managers of the King's ballet, one ounce of golden jewels; Beaulieu, the actor, offers his pension of four hundred francs, which he holds from the *Variétés*, and pays three years in advance; the Duke de Charost offers his homage to the nation in a gift of ten thousand francs, half in silver plate, to increase the supply of specie. The Marchioness de Sillery-Genlis parts with the silver toilet-service of her daughter, Madame de Valence, and in the fervour of her zeal, writes to the secretary of a ladies' committee, Madame de Payen—"My daughter and I, we would do ourselves the honour to bring you this gift personally, if my duty permitted me to leave her, and if she were not confined to her bed."

From high to low, society empties its pockets. A husbandman from Touraine sends twenty-four francs to the National Assembly, a servant forty-eight. Even the children—the boys of the College of St. Omer, a child of seven from Crespy, in Valois—emulate each other in precocious liberality. A lad sends forty-eight francs with which he intended to buy himself a watch—our youthful readers will be able to appreciate the heroism of such a sacrifice. Mademoiselle Lucy d'Arlaise, nine years old, sends, in a letter to the National Assembly, her golden thimble and her little pocket-compass; the children of a wealthy citizen send three ounces of golden toys to the mint.

The peril of the commonwealth seems to increase the generosity of the nation, and the poorest are eager to give; proud to be on the list, and to accompany

their gift with some eloquent phrase or smart epigram, like a cobbler of Poitiers who brings his two pairs of silver shoe-buckles, saying, "These have served to hold together the straps (*tirants*) of my shoes; they will serve to pull asunder the *tyrants* leagued against freedom."

Well would it have been had the nation confined itself to spending its wit and aspirations for the public welfare in epigrams and free gifts, but a fever of discussion possessed all minds. All pamphlets and journals were eagerly read, huge inflammatory placards covered every wall, the most obscure men became candidates for public functions, the Assembly was daily beset with crowds of eager listeners, the district meetings became places of public resort, people went to hear Mirabeau as if they were going to listen to some famous actor; and, not satisfied with this, superfluous emotion vented itself in hundreds of clubs, tribunes more accessible than the legislature.

Clubs are spreading everywhere, foremost among them in public favour is that of the "Friends of the Constitution." Founded first at Versailles by the Brittany deputies, it emigrated spontaneously with the National Assembly to Paris, and took up its quarters in the convent of the Jacobins, Rue St. Honoré. At starting it had admitted to its debates none but members of the Assembly, but now it had its own journal, was open to every one, and became the centre of all Parisian agitation. To belong to it was in itself a claim to the title of patriot. The most revolutionary motions

were proposed there. Barnave and Mirabeau, before ascending the rostrum in the Assembly, improvised their eloquent speeches in the Jacobins, which served as a dress-rehearsal to the complete performance elsewhere. The Jacobins, affiliated with the patriotic societies of the provinces, founded a vast confederation, rivalling in influence that of the Legislature itself—nay, at times usurping its powers by prescribing measures, and assuming the functions of guide and director to the Revolution. Woman would not be outdone in the struggle for regenerating and reforming the country. The former Marquis de la Villette demanded that every woman or girl attaining her majority should be admitted to the primary assemblies, but ere this the fair sex had formed clubs of their own. They founded *La Société des Femmes Républicaines et Révolutionnaires*, *La Société des Amies de la Constitution*; they composed half of the Fraternal Club, holding its meetings on the floor above that where the Friends of the Constitution met. They took an oath never to have an aristocrat for their husbands. They outstripped men in their civic zeal, and when the latter hesitated about passing some rather far-going edicts, they threatened to march in four separate legions, unless the decree were promulgated within a week.

The Constituent Assembly—which is another name for the National Assembly—felt itself powerless to check these extravagances, partly because it did not wish to obstruct revolutionary progress, partly because it imagined that when the Constitution, which was making

rapid strides towards completion, should be finished, these evils would cease of themselves. Unfortunately their hopes were not destined to be realised. In the making of new laws they were met at every step by obstacles in the shape of vested interests, tradition, or determined opposition. Many of the causes for agitation had however disappeared; one, the most obstinate, remained—scarcity of bread. The people, so easily hoodwinked and excited, killed a baker who was unjustly accused of being a forestaller of corn. In consequence of this a decree was passed promulgating martial law, and authorising the municipality to make use of armed force to disperse the crowds. No other way was left open. To disarm the opposition effectually the Assembly was compelled to abolish at one stroke the ancient order of things, to get rid of its adversaries by depriving them of their means of attack. The members were overburdened with work, and the French colonies followed the example of the mother-country. In St. Domingo, where the blacks claimed their political rights, a disturbance took place, which changed into a civil war. Yet the Assembly resolved to leave the colonial assemblies their autonomic prerogative of decision. In addition to this, the Assembly had to explain in detail the drift of their decrees, to watch temporarily over matters which as yet they had no time to examine, to answer complaints, and to listen to demands and denunciations of the various towns, bodies, and individuals. The executive power was *de facto* suspended, seemingly there were no ministers, and the royal commands, in order to be

obeyed, had to pass through the mouthpiece of the Assembly.

One of its great tasks was to reduce the various provinces, which almost formed so many independent States, each having its privileges and separate administrations, to an orderly whole. In order to succeed in this, they had to be governed by the same laws. On the 15th of January the Assembly passed a law projected by Siéyès, who had occupied himself for full two months regulating it.

By this decree France was divided into eighty-three departments, nearly equal in population and extent, and subdivided into districts, cantons, and communes. All local and traditional privileges were abolished, the Parliaments and separate administrations were superseded, and the historical names of the provinces, as being too suggestive of independent traditions, were changed into more appropriate ones, derived from their geographical situation, and which told the world at large that there were no longer Duchies of Brittany, States of Provence, or Bretons, or Provençals, but simply one France, of which all the natives were Frenchmen.

The political and electoral system was devised in harmony with the departmental partition. The administration of each department was entrusted to a council of thirty-six members and an executive directory of five; the district was organised similarly, its members subordinate to those of the departments, and again those of the commune responsible to those of the district. This was the material basis of the new system; the moral

basis consisted in the election of its representatives by the people. The *active* citizen—that is, the one who paid a yearly contribution amounting to three days' work—chose electors among those who paid a contribution equivalent to a hundred and fifty or two hundred days' work; and these, in their turn, appointed the delegates to the Constituent Assembly, the administrators of the department, district and commune, and also the judges, the bishops, and the priests.

Provincial Parliaments being abolished, three different kinds of tribunals were created in their stead to administer the law, whose members were temporary and elective, one criminal court for each department, a civil one for each district, and a court where a justice of the peace sat for each canton. A supreme court was in addition created to watch over the integrity of legal forms, and a jury was introduced for criminal cases.

These great changes were scarcely received in their proper spirit by the provinces. From time immemorial their Parliaments had been the champions of their liberties, and their abolition was the signal for revolt. Mounier (1758–1806), who had resigned his place in the Assembly, and retired to his native country, attempted to produce a rising in Dauphiné; the Parliaments of Rennes, Metz, Bordeaux, Toulouse, protested against the decrees of the Assembly. But the provincial magistrates had lost most of their influence from the beginning of the Revolution, they had therefore to submit or to league themselves with some of the clergy and nobles who felt too greatly injured to refuse their co-operation.

In order to explain the rancour of the higher classes of the clergy and of the nobility we must retrace our steps for a moment. Amidst its numerous labours the Assembly had as yet been unable to give more than a passing attention to the state of the finances of the kingdom. It had authorised a loan of thirty millions of francs, and another of eighty millions; but notwithstanding the voluntary sacrifices recorded above, these loans were not taken up. In the meantime the monetary crisis was becoming terrible; the imposts entered but slowly, the whole collecting fabric was disorganised, and while the need grew more pressing the resources decreased. The partisans of the Revolution were of opinion that the enormous deficit would retard if not altogether arrest its march; means, therefore, had to be devised to insure its existence. These means were to be found in the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, a measure which had often been used in times of religious wars. In this emergency Talleyrand de Périgord, Bishop of Autun, proposed (November 2nd, 1789), in the name of the Committee of Finance, a decree by which the clergy were declared not to be proprietors, but simply administrators of the wealth which the faithful had bequeathed to them for ages; that, consequently, the nation should take upon itself the charge of defraying the expenses of divine worship, of maintaining the priests, and of keeping up the hospitals; and, therefore, was justified in appropriating all ecclesiastical property, and in selling it, in order to pay the debts of the State, to annul the deficit, to abolish the salt-tax,

and similar imposts. This property was estimated at four thousand million francs. The alarm excited by this proposal may easily be imagined. The nobles and clergy saw in it a deliberate attempt to destroy one of the two powerful classes, which had hitherto been independent, because of its enormous wealth. The clergy consented to make some concessions, but flatly refused to be stripped of its estates. Nevertheless, the motion of the Bishop of Autun became law, and a decree of the 19th of December, 1789, ordered property to be sold to the extent of four hundred millions of francs.

No purchasers were forthcoming. The Revolution had marched with such rapid strides and with so much violence, its perils appeared so great, its enemies were so numerous—in fine, the Assembly demolished so quickly, that even to the most liberal minds the new order of things had such a character of headlong hurry that its duration was despaired of. "It cannot last," was heard on all sides. Consequently, this great measure of the Assembly proved futile; the Revolution was standing still, materially for want of money, morally for want of confidence, when the Commune of Paris hit upon the idea of turning the national property into money. It proposed to the Assembly that the municipalities should be authorised to purchase the property from the State, in order to re-sell it to private individuals; but that, not having the necessary funds to pay immediately, these municipalities should issue bonds on themselves, bearing interest, and wherewith the State should pay its creditors. In this way the State could discharge its obligations,

and the creditors become possessed of a tangible and real security, which they could change into land. Thus the sale of the property of the clergy would take place. Afterwards these municipal notes were changed into State notes or *assignats*, of which the circulation was made compulsory; and the paper becoming money in reality, the creditors were reimbursed. Besides, their mortgage was truly secured, because the law limited the issue of the *assignats* to the value of the land put up for sale; and ordered the immediate burning of all returned notes, so that by the time all should have been collected the ecclesiastical property would have found purchasers. This operation, though not quite perfect as a financial expedient—for it gave Government the power of creating more *assignats* than the property represented, which in fact became the case—was nevertheless an excellent political measure, and proved the salvation of the Revolution. The clergy, hostile and irritated beyond bounds, could but submit, inasmuch as the new law in no way attacked religion itself; they therefore were content to wait until the Assembly should resort to this latter indignity.[1]

[1] The other financial operations of the Assembly were as follow:—All sources of revenue were taxed—those arising from landed and household property by land taxes; those from capital by a tax on personal property; those from industry by licences or patents; those from trade by customs. The transmission of property by inheritance or contract was subject to a registration which legalised the transfer, and for which a certain duty was charged. Imposts were also levied on all legal documents coming before the courts, whether in the shape of contested suits or amicable transactions—it was equivalent to the English stamp tax. The duty on articles of consumption was materially less than it has been ever since, because it was

This indignity so confidently and ironically expected by the clergy was soon to be heaped upon them, mainly through their own fault. We will anticipate its history, and narrate it here.

When by the decree passed on the 19th of December, 1789, they saw the administration of their property transferred to the municipalities, when they heard of the contemplated sale of their land to the value of four hundred million francs, when they beheld this spoliation facilitated and rendered irrevocable by the creation of a paper medium, the clergy left no stone unturned, invoking Heaven itself to interfere for them, and preserve their wealth. They made a last attempt by offering to raise in their name the loan of four hundred million francs, which offer was declined, because it would have been tantamount to recognising their right to the property, when it had been decided that they had no such right. After this they sought every opportunity of frustrating the operations of the municipalities. In the south they incited the Catholics against the Protestants; they fulminated threats from the pulpit, thinking to strike terror into every conscience; in the confessional they denounced the sales as sacrilege; they endeavoured to throw discredit on the motives of the Legislature, to imbue the cause of their own interests with an aspect of theology, and to confound a national question with a religious one. To this the Assembly, on the 13th of February, 1790, responded by decreeing

considered as taken from the workman's wages, and therefore direct from the people; hence it was thought less productive from an economical point of view, and less just from a political point of view.—*Extract from Mignet's "Essay on Roederer."*

the abolition of all monasteries and convents, with the exception of those in which the sick were tended; and also by proclaiming the equality of all religions, and that the Roman Catholic one should not be considered as the religion of the State.

Despoiled of their wealth, deprived even of their temporal power, they continued to struggle, for they still possessed a great influence on the minds of many. The nobles, divided against themselves, disbanded, irresolute, embarrassed because new to this wordy warfare, and to these parliamentary skirmishes, were almost beyond the rallying-point; not so the clergy; they threw themselves into the front rank, animated to the last moment with the hope of victory.

The Abbé Maury (1746–1817) was the valiant leader in this last struggle. Violent, brutal, given to choler rather than to the mild suavity of the Gospel, he was threatening, vigorous, and ever ready for battle. Robust in body as well as in mind, fearing neither a bout at fisticuffs in the streets nor a dialectic duel in the Assembly, there was something Homeric in the challenges of eloquence which he threw at Mirabeau's feet. His aide-de-camp, a modern Falstaff, nicknamed Mirabeau-Tonneau, and the great orator's elder brother, a brave, corpulent, and headstrong fellow to boot, violently seconded him in this hand-to-hand contest for royalty waged by the sons of the Church.

Nor were the opponents of the same cloth as Maury's to be despised—the Abbé Grégoire, Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, and the Abbé Fauchet. Maury was a consum-

mate orator and debater, Grégoire a man of upright principles and spotless conscience; and the bishop probably possessing none of their virtues, but more redoubtable than both. Fauchet (born 1744) had a poetical imagination, a mind nourished by the simple beauties of the Gospel, and a sensitive heart; but he lacked firmness, and was an extreme Utopist—in short, a revolutionary Fénelon. Nor was he, it is said, altogether insensible to the charms of the fairer sex; knowing which, the nation expressed a hope that the race of the honest Fauchets might be perpetuated and that the little ones might be reared as good and conscientious priests. For some time Fauchet was the rage in Paris; the chairs when he preached a sermon were let for as much as twenty-four sous.

Such were some of the personages who combated for and against the clergy, though we have seen already that the convents had been thrown open by a decree of the 13th of February.

"The pope and the monks will come to the end of their tether one day," wrote Frederick to Voltaire in 1777; "their fall will not be the work of reason, but they will perish according as the finances of great States become more and more embarrassed. In France, when all other means of procuring specie shall have been exhausted, they will be compelled to secularise the convents and the abbeys." The prophecy of the philosopher-king became realised.

And a world outside the pale of the ordinary world, knowing nothing of its joys, sorrows, or customs,

suddenly cut from its former moorings is let loose upon society. In Paris alone forty monasteries are emptied. The only living beings left in them are some old men, who prefer to finish the few days which life has still in store for them in the deserted buildings. But all who are young, and even the middle-aged, rush out, and compose themselves into motley groups along the streets. It is like a masquerade to see these tonsured monks, bearded like a pard, in fashionable frocks, blue breeches, and buckled shoes.

In the squares, in the cafés, the strangest dialogues are overheard. "What the dickens do you want with the cowl and sandals? Wait, I'll get you a coat and sword." The barbers' shops are filled with monks, waiting to have their beards shaved off, and to be curled and perfumed in the latest fashion. "Don't cut all his beard, leave him his mustachios," says one who has already undergone the process. The Capuchins of the Rue St. Honoré, desirous of conforming to the edict of the Assembly, implore the protection of the municipality. The Commune responds to the invitation, and arrives, escorted by an army of barbers, who shave, curl, and perfume the brotherhood. The shoes which the Commune has brought are put on, the sandals are thrown aside, and the ceremony concludes by a procession to the second-hand clothes' fair near the Halles, where the Capuchins doff their gowns, and don the dress of every-day life, assisted by the fair hands of the fishwives. A former member of that brotherhood, having no inclination or time to change, goes to the theatre in his monastic

garments, and is received with thunders of applause. The monks may be seen everywhere, inaugurating their emancipation by a visit to the public balls, or to the restaurants of Clichy, leading a very Rabelaisian existence. Some, taking advantage of their hirsute appendage, and loth to part with it, enlist in the national militia as sappers, adopting the nick-names of "Terror" or "Cleave-Mountain," in order to complete their metamorphosis. And certain fair ones, patriotic to their hearts' core, pronounce them more charming armed with their axes, and crowned with the hairy bonnets, than those fops of abbés with their powdered heads and lady-like manners. To all these emancipated men the Revolution holds out a helping hand by providing them with a living. If they are scholars they have the arts, the learned professions, and commerce to fall back upon; if they are simply strong-limbed, agriculture is open to them, and by-and-by war will be. There is a market for their intelligence and for their strength. The greatest number whose minds have been given to study all their lives, such as the Benedictines of St. Maur, offer to devote themselves to the education of the young. Erewhile monastic superiors are eager to find places in private families to teach children reading, writing, and arithmetic, or else to keep the books in some counting-house, or to become librarians. Nearly all, satisfied with the little pittance voted to them by the Assembly, want only their board and lodging. Some continue the commerce by which their communities have become famous. Two Carmelites advertise

that they will continue to manufacture the far-famed medicine known as Carmelite water; others that they have established themselves in the Rue Frainée St. Eustache, to prepare the barley syrup and sugar of the celebrated Abbey of St. Moret; a third that he still cultivates the well-known salad of his ancient convent, the salad called *des petits pères*. One of them struck out an entirely new career. The play-bill of the *Théâtre de Monsieur* on the 10th of June announces that in the opera, "The Ruses of Frontin," an actor who never trod the boards before will make his first appearance in the part of Géronte. The Géronte was a monk.

With the nuns there was not the same publicity or scandal. More wedded to their habits, restricted and guarded through the influence of their past mode of life, there was a more severe struggle between the allurements of the world and the pleasures of living in retirement, though with them the vow was oftener compulsory than voluntary, and a bond of necessity rather than free choice. Familiarised while still young with the convent, they had adapted their nascent dispositions to a life devoid of pleasure, perhaps, but also devoid of grief, to a calm and monotonous existence of prayers and penitence, to a sweet and gentle beatitude. The convent had become their family. If they were nothing to the outside world, they consoled themselves that they were everything in their own nunnery; and they allowed their days to pass away in a harmless, useless existence, cutting out illuminated paper cherubims, decorating little toy chapels, hemming the sheets for toy

representations of the manger in which their Saviour was born. It was but natural that modest and timid women, who had been taught to avoid even the mere mention of many words then in common use, should shrink from the coarse matter-of-fact world of the Revolution.

Besides, less cognisant than the men of the agitations and events which had occurred outside their narrow circles, since the beginning of the Revolution, better guarded against news from without, their minds were not inflamed by a desire for freedom, or by a daily growing wish to be emancipated. The female superiors assiduously guarded their flocks against coming into contact with those who might foster their worldly aspirations. Inch by inch, foot by foot, the ground was disputed, in the Parisian nunneries. Neither threats nor rigorous measures were spared. For having imprudently hinted at the suppression of the monastic orders, three inmates of the Ave Maria cloister were condemned to eat their rice with an ear-pick. The alarm spread; and it was communicated to the inmates that those who would leave the convent should be lost for ever. Sister St. Clementia, belonging to the Hôtel Dieu, having expressed a desire of profiting by the decrees of the Assembly, was locked up and ill-treated. Most of the nuns were left in ignorance of the new law. A nun of the convent in the Rue Neuve St. Etienne wrote that she and her sisters had not been consulted, and that out of twenty-two of her fellow-recluses, twelve claimed their freedom immediately. Newspapers were

not allowed to enter the establishments; in lieu of which they were flooded with clerical pamphlets, such as, *Open your eyes*, and similar ones. Between the bishops, the grand vicars, and the abbesses a coalition was formed, and absolution was refused to those who wished to take advantage of the so-called "diabolical decrees" of the Constituent Assembly. They were pointed out to the superiors as black sheep, without the pale of the communion. In addition to this violence and manœuvring, there was something else, which especially restrained these women—modesty; a delicate desire to be compelled, and not only to be permitted, to abandon their former lives.

Despite the attractions of social life, despite the wish to shine in the world, despite the love of marriage, despite the anticipated joys of maternity, few nuns quitted their retreats at first. For one, who in September had come from the monastery of Argenteuil to plead for her rights, and who spoke almost as long as her legal adviser; for a few who showed themselves in the public promenades, on the arms of officers; for some few others, who, the moment the decree became law, rushed off to take possession of the lodgings which, in their impatience of the coming freedom, they had engaged two months previously, a greater number continued during many months to be as dead to their contemporaries in the world as they had been before. Lemaire, a well-known orator of the day, harangued these poor women in a somewhat cavalier fashion, telling them that it was more profitable to themselves and the

country to press little living cherubs to their bosoms than to be for ever fondling rosaries and crucifixes; that their lips were made to kiss and to be kissed by flesh and blood, and not by ebony and ivory.

As may be imagined, the stage had its say in the matter, and did so in prose and in rhyme, in tragedy, comedy, opera, and farce. Valiant militia officers were represented as eloping with young nuns, who were dying of consumption and inanition, and the hint was acted up to by the people, who little by little emptied the convents, taking their inmates under their own protection by providing them with situations in their households. The newspapers were teeming with advertisements of young women, formerly nuns, offering to labour for their bread in any honest capacity.

The plots of the priests, artfully schemed, daringly carried out in some instances, were yet of no avail. The nation compelled them at last to swear fidelity to the law, the King, and the people. Many resisted, and prepared themselves to become martyrs in their own cause. One, assailed by the mob, and on the point of being hanged from a lamp-post, was grandiloquently comparing his fate to that of the Saviour. "Your vanity has saved you, friend," interrupted the ring-leader; "I do not think you good enough to play that part; go, like Judas, and die elsewhere; we wash our hands of you."

All these decrees to bring the priests within the subjection of the civil law were submitted to the King, who refused his sanction thereto. But, later on, it

was wrung from him. The bishops, indignant at his compliance, reproached him with encroaching upon the spiritual power. Only sixty-four ecclesiastics, members of the Assembly, took the civil oath; all the others refused it, and this example was followed by five-sixths of the clergy (27th Dec.). Those who proved refractory were dismissed from their offices; they protested by declaring their successors to be intruders, and excommunicated those persons who accepted the Sacrament at their hands. Through this the revolutionary party, no doubt, lost a sect which might have invested them with great strength by its moral power. The rebellious clergy sided with the partisans of the *ancien régime*, and, in truth, the morals of the majority of the newly-appointed priests were not such as to be creditable to those who had called them into existence, especially when contrasted with those whom they opposed. Of course there were exceptions for good or evil on either side. But the rancour bred by this hostile state of affairs did more harm than good to the Revolution, the orthodox ecclesiastics embarrassing progress by an implacable resistance that led to civil war, the Constitutional priests disgracing their supporters by the looseness of their morals and doctrines. Incredulity, in this instance, was like the third robber in the fable; while two of the brigands were quarrelling about the division of the spoil, the third took it. The masses, but feebly corrupted hitherto, lost faith altogether, preferring revolution to religion.

In this crisis the nobles, until now of little account

as an opposing power, chiefly through their numerical inferiority, became the nucleus towards which all the other malcontents were converging. The resistance of the provincial Parliaments had engendered agitations without results; that of the clergy was gradually but surely sowing the seeds of civil strife; but that of the nobility, welding the three into one, produced foreign war. At the departmental organisation the nobles had lost the influence which they formerly possessed by virtue of their dignities and property, and now they saw themselves subjected to a plebeian authority. Incorporated with the other members of the Legislature, no longer forming a body by themselves, having no employment at the Court, deprived of even their useful privileges by the decree of the 4th of August, there was nothing left to them but honorary prerogatives, signifying little in the new social fabric. Of these they were also to be despoiled. A Bill, passed on the 19th of June, 1790, abolished all distinctions of the feudal *régime*, titles, arms, crests, and devices. Henceforth the nobles ceased to exist as a body in the State. From that moment there was war to the knife between the Republicans and aristocrats. Wherever they met they fell upon each other, with words first, with more fatal weapons afterwards. The theatre became the common battle-field for the noble and the Jacobin. Plays breathing the spirit of the Revolution, such as Marie Chenier's *Charles IX.*, made of the resort of pleasure and intellectual pastime an arena in which the most furious passions hurled defiance at each other; the actors

were scarcely listened to, except now and then, when they recited a passage applicable to the present crisis. Art was no longer anything. What the people wanted was not the Muse, but a Fury, brandishing the torch of revolt, and spouting allusions. Disturbances took place nightly. The play counted for nothing; it was the public which supplied the spectacle. The pathetic voice of tragedy, the laughter-inspiring sallies of comedy, were drowned by shouts of applause, not given to the actors, but to some improvised Demosthenes, who had climbed upon one of the seats to harangue the audience.

One night a floral crown was thrown to an actor playing in the *Théâtre du Marais*. A lawyer, Boistard, mounted upon one of the seats. "I object to this crown remaining on the brow of this actor. Eh, forsooth, what reward will you give to the defenders of the country, of humanity and liberty? Once more I maintain that he who threw this crown is the vilest, most grovelling of slaves." The public, convinced by this outburst, made a sign, and the actor very wisely lifted the crown from his head and placed it on the floor.

An actor's life was at that time far from pleasant. If by accident his part compelled him to utter aught that could be construed into contempt of the lower classes, the regard for his safety made it imperative that he should excuse himself immediately afterwards for involuntarily wounding the susceptibilities of the public. A player performing the part of the Cardinal in *The Night of Charles V.* had to refer to the mob as "these brutes." Almost in the same breath he added,

turning to the audience, "I beg you to distinguish between my aristocratic part and my patriotic sentiments."

The general intoxication, the exuberant joy, find vent in loud clamour when a Roman or Greek play is performed. At other times silence reigns, broken only by the scarcely-concealed sneers of some aristocrats in the private boxes. At one of the performances of *Brutus*, Mirabeau is in the house. A deputation is sent to him to come into the gallery. When the lines,

> "To arrest a Roman on bare suspicion
> Is to act as the tyrants whom we punish,"

are spoken, the public insists upon their repetition, to inculcate a "republican lesson to those present." A perfect tempest follows the words,

> "To live free and without a King,"

which, eliciting some applause, are drowned by the voices of the aristocrats in the boxes waving their handkerchiefs, and shouting, "Long live the King!" The groundlings set up a yell of "Long live the nation!" which lasts throughout the scene where the traitors, including the son of the Mayor of Rome, are hanged by order of that very Mayor. It is at one of the representations of *Brutus* that a spectator rises from among the crowd. It is Mr. Charles Villette, the nephew of Voltaire. "Gentlemen," says the ex-Marquis—of whom we have already made mention—"I demand that the coffin of Voltaire shall be brought to Paris. This will prove fatal to the last breath of

fanaticism. The quacks of the law and the Church have never forgiven him for unmasking them, and they have persecuted him in his very grave."

But the aristocrats are not without their innings. Mainly by their influence the *Œdipus* of La Harpe is played; and when the lines,

> "This King more noble than his fortunes
> Disdained like you a needless pomp.
> Being without fear, he went without defence,"

are uttered, they are received with deafening shouts of applause by the Royalists, who have filled the house; the tricoloured cockade is trampled under foot, and a white one is displayed on every one's hat.

And thus the strife goes on, growing more bitter day by day, until one night it comes to more than words. At the representation of *The School for Friends*, in which some revolutionary journalists are held up to ridicule, a voice in the audience suddenly cries, "Down with the Jacobins!—knock down the Jacobins!" Which cry is immediately supported by another, "Long live the King!" taken up by the entire audience, the patriots being in the minority upon that occasion. Swords are unsheathed, and the revolutionary party, thinking discretion the better part of valour, take to their heels. At the end of the performance, the populace, stirred up meanwhile, waits for the Royalists, falls upon them, knocks down the pages, and drags beautiful, splendidly-dressed women in the gutter.

Crests and heraldic devices have been abolished. The hammer is at work throughout the whole of the

Faubourg St. Germain, and from the frontage of old mansions, as ancient and noble as pages from history, fall into the streets escutcheons, telling of grand and heroic deeds. Many a proud heart bleeds at seeing the family-crown cast down like a rotten fruit; the Duke de Brissac resists, but has to give way at last.

After the frontage and doorways come the carriages; their panels have to be scratched. Some conceal their arms and crests under silver paper or a curtain. One nobleman covers his shield with a cloud painted in distemper, beneath which he has written, "A passing Cloud." A noble lady has a death's head with cross-bones on her panel. And a certain M. Crussaire, painter of heraldic devices, is reduced to advertise in the newspapers that he executes all kinds of serious and facetious subjects pertaining to the Revolution, for boxes, caskets, buttons, and medallions. The liveries have their turn also. A nobleman appears at Longchamps with a servant in livery behind his coach. The mob, shouting for equality, makes the master take the place of the footman, and *vice versâ*. And those servants who cannot respect themselves, and persist "in wearing on their backs the disgraceful marks of their servitude, embroidered in gold," equality persuades—by rule of stick sometimes—that they are citizens, children of the mother-country. The masters obey, but with very ill-grace. M. Bachois, compelled to take off the gold lace from his servants' liveries, forbids his tailor to turn the coats, so that the traces of the offending lace may remain visible. His wife goes further still. She forbids the stitches

being taken out. Feudalism once destroyed in the image and symbols, the crusade against historic titles begins. Every one is obliged to bear his original appellation. Confusion results from this new baptism. "With your Riquetti, you have puzzled Europe for full three days," exclaimed Mirabeau in the tribune of the journalists. What a glorious opportunity for the staunch Royalists to sneer at those nobles who embraced the Revolution from its commencement! The Duke d'Aiguillon is changed into M. Vignerot; the Duchess de Coigny into Madame Franquetot; and the Duke de Caraman is simple M. Riquet. It is said that this dispossession of titles was so ill-received by the ladies, that the husband-deputies who voted the equalising sacrifice paid for it with many a private curtain-lecture given by their wives. For a moment, but for a moment only, the heroic resolution with which Aristophanes credits the Athenian fair in "The Assembly of Women," seemed to become adopted by the French ladies, who, in order to get this new law against titles revoked, threatened to let France die out. But victory remained to the law. And while the escutcheons fall, and heraldic devices are effaced, while the Rohans have no longer the right to bear their name, behold the tennis-keeper scratching out the epithet "noble" from the announcement of the game on his doors. The "noble game of Goose" clamours in vain that it is descended from the Greeks; it is transformed into "The Game of the French Revolution." In this new game the geese become the Parliaments; Number 19, the "hostelry" or the

"Palais Royal," principal centre of the revolutionary movement; Number 31, the "well," or the "refugees in foreign lands;" Number 58, the "death of Delaunay and other enemies to the Revolution;" and Number 63, the winning number, the "Constituent Assembly," or the "palladium of liberty." Much as the nobles resent these cruel strokes of fortune, it is reserved for a very humble plebeian to take up the cudgels in their defence. Luxembourg, the linkman of the *Théâtre Français*, he who for the last twenty years has shouted with stentorian voice for the carriages of all these dukes, marquesses, and counts, he, the herald of all these famous titles, tenders his resignation, unable to utter horrid, plebeian appellations, shorn of all their glory and sound.

If by their conduct in public the nobles were fast widening the breach existing already, their tactics in the Assembly were still more calculated to bring about a formidable crisis. "The nobles, the bishops," said Ferrières, who himself was one of the party of the Right, "seemed to have but one aim—to hamper the progress of business, to contravene all practical operations, to dissolve the Assembly. Far from opposing the injurious decrees, they remained to an almost incredible degree perfectly indifferent to them. They left their seats when the President was putting the project of law to the vote, inviting their adherents to follow them; or, if they remained, they shouted to them not to take part in the discussion. Firmly persuaded that the new order of things could not last, they endeavoured to

hasten its fall with a sort of impatience, and brought about their own ruin and that of Monarchy. To this insensate conduct they added an insulting indifference to the Assembly, and to the public who were present at the sittings. They did not listen, laughed, and spoke loudly, thus strengthening the unfavourable opinion in which the people held them. . . . Most of these insults were caused by the bishops and nobles being unable to persuade themselves that the Revolution was an accomplished fact in the minds and hearts of all Frenchmen. They fancied that by such childish behaviour they could restrain a torrent growing larger every day. They but concentrated its waters, causing greater ravages still, and obdurately held on to the *ancien régime*, the base of all their actions, of all their resistance, and for which no one thanked them. They compelled the revolutionary party by this foolish obstinacy to extend the scheme of the Revolution even beyond the limits it had intended."

These attempts at counter-Revolution were multiplied outside the Assembly. The nobles attempted to tamper with the army, which endeavours were frustrated by the Assembly, by making it the interest of the troops to remain attached to them. An impracticable design was formed—it was said, at the instigation of the Count of Provence, then at Turin—to murder Bailly and Lafayette, to carry off the King and Queen, and to conduct them to Piedmont, whence they should return at the head of an army to Paris. The Marquis de Favras, a clever adventurer, was entrusted with the execution of the project, which, by

being discovered too soon, cost him his life. He was brought before the Tribunal of the Châtelet, condemned, and hanged. This, if nothing else, taught the Court that to leave France openly was out of the question, and led to the after-attempt, nipped in the bud at Varennes.

The position of the Court was, in fact, embarrassing in the extreme. Covertly approving of all the counter-revolutionary efforts, it supported none, aware of its weakness and dependence on the Assembly, which yoke, while galling, it felt itself powerless to shake off. Thus it was compelled to play a double part, to bribe and to incite resistance in secret, while ostensibly it was giving its adhesion to reform. Mirabeau, as we shall see later on, had been induced to enter into secret negotiations with the Court. Much as has been said to his discredit by successive historians on this subject, it is now tolerably evident that his motive was an honest one, but that he allowed himself to be paid for his honesty. He wanted to weld the two opposing parties into a solid whole. The support which he offered was constitutional; he could not well offer another, for "his power depended upon his popularity, and his popularity on his principles." His sole wrong consisted in accepting money; without this he would have been as little to blame as Lafayette, Lameth, and the whole of the Girondin party, who afterwards aimed at the same fusion. But neither one nor the other ever enjoyed the full confidence of the Court, who simply employed them as makeshifts.

Amidst all these plots and intrigues, the Assembly incessantly worked at the Constitution. The new code had but one principle, the sovereign power of the nation. The throne alone was declared transmissible; all other prerogatives, being neither the property of an individual nor of a family, were declared elective.

The nobles, seeing the fruitlessness of their efforts at providing a counter-Revolution within the kingdom, were meanwhile soliciting foreign intervention. The emigration tended at first towards Turin, but not finding the King of Sardinia sufficiently zealous in its cause, it had taken up its head-quarters at Coblentz, in the States of the Elector of Trèves, where it was negotiating with the Northern Powers, fancying itself the more certain of success, and better assured of the latter's countenance and aid, because the revolutionary principles were gradually spreading over the whole of Europe.

Belgium had driven from her territory the troops of the Austrian Emperor, proclaimed his dynasty at an end, organised herself into a confederate republic, and had sent an embassy to the Constituent Assembly to ask for its protection. Poland, taking advantage of the troubles of Russia, which was at war with the Turks, sought to recover her independence, and framed for herself a new Constitution, that rendered the throne hereditary, abolished the *liberum veto*, and vested the legislative power in two chambers. In England the French ideas excited the greatest enthusiasm. The revolutionary tricolour was worn by everybody, even

by women, "not as incentives to combat and victory," commented Mirabeau, "but as a mark of the holy confraternity of the friends of freedom." The opposition in Parliament could not find sufficiently glowing words wherewith to eulogise the Revolution. Fox said that it was the greatest step hitherto taken for the emancipation of the human race; that a new policy should henceforth govern Europe, and give her back peace; that the French Revolution gave the assurance of it; that as a friend of liberty he applauded the splendid triumph it had evoked with the only nation whom England recognised as a rival in the higher points of civilisation; and that he admired the new Constitution of France as the most glorious monument to liberty which human reason had raised at any epoch, or in any country.

But these threatening symptoms notwithstanding, despite the solicitations of the refugees, the Governments of Europe continued, with an overweeningly blind security, to wage a war of King against King, in which the monarch's interest and the diplomacy of equilibrium alone were consulted. They did not perceive that the revolutionary ideas were engendering an entire democratic world, hostile to their interests. Far from thinking that the troubles would spread over nearly the whole of Europe, they are said to have fostered by secret supplies of money the French Revolution, seeing nothing in it but the overthrow of the hated power of the Bourbon dynasty, with its vast European influence, and its system of adroit political alliances.

Thus Russia and Austria, coveting the spoil of Turkey and Sweden, continued their attacks against these two States. Prussia and England, hostile to the imperial schemes, equipped armies and vessels to succour the Turks and Swedes, besides protecting the Poles against Catherine II., the Belgians against Joseph II.; but all this was not done out of pure generosity to assist those nations, but to deprive France of the alliance of the Courts of Stockholm and Constantinople, and to deprive her of her influence in Poland and Belgium. Holland was already virtually the vassal of England and Prussia, and while the latter endeavoured to aggrandise herself at the expense of Austria, the continental ally of France since 1756, Great Britain sought a pretext for quarrelling with Spain, that she might ruin the maritime power of this nation, connected with France through Louis XIV. and family alliances.

The Turks and Swedes having met with nothing but reverses, the Anglo-Prussian league was preparing to take an active part in the war in the East, when Joseph II. died (22nd February, 1790). His successor, Leopold, better understanding the political situation, showed Frederick William of Prussia that while they had been harassing each other for petty interest's sake, a formidable foe had sprung up in their rear, who was spreading his contagious revolutionary doctrines broadcast, and not content with confining them to his own country, had already infected the Belgian provinces with these pernicious principles, and was now labouring to make the Revolution universal. Frederick gave ear

to these representations, and the Peace of Reichenbach was concluded between Prussia and Austria on the 27th of July. Sweden followed this example, and weary of a strife in which Prussia and England had simply promised assistance, but not fulfilled their promises, she made peace with Catherine II.; the only contending parties remaining under arms being the Russians and the Turks. In vain did the French *émigrés*, the English minister, and the Austrian Emperor endeavour to reconcile these two Powers, pointing out that European peace was especially necessary at this moment, in order to watch the better the doings of the French Revolution. Catherine, who had always professed the most extravagant philosophical maxims, did not see anything very formidable to her serfs in the French principles; she saw but one thing, her ambition to humiliate Turkey, and she continued the war. This conduct caused Austria and Prussia to waver with regard to their intended interference in the French Revolution, and rendered all solicitations on the part of the refugee-nobles useless. The English Government refused point-blank to discuss the question, Pitt fearing to rouse the English, who were somewhat favourable to the revolutionary ideas, by a semblance of absolutism. He preferred to watch the march of events, and remain inactive himself. Frederick and Leopold, meanwhile, prepared to destroy the two revolutions which appeared to have a kindred relationship with that of France, the Belgian and Polish risings. Prussia entered into negotiations with Russia, which were to result in a second dismemberment of Poland. Austria sent into Brabant

an army of 30,000 men under Marshal Bender, who dispersed the patriots, took possession of Brussels, and extinguished, almost without an obstacle, the Belgian revolution.

More than fourteen months had elapsed since the convocation of the States-General, the 14th of July was approaching, and the French prepared themselves to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille with a solemn ceremony, which should cement the common bonds between the citizens, and raise their aspirations. This *fête* was to be the sequel to a ceremony which had taken place spontaneously on the 4th of February, when the King, uninvited, repaired to the Constituent Assembly to give his sanction to the law about the departments. He had then made a speech, received with the utmost enthusiasm by the deputies, who had responded to it by taking the civil oath, couched in these terms: "I swear to be faithful to the nation, the King, and the law; to maintain with my utmost power the Constitution decreed by the Assembly and accepted by the King." For days the words were on every one's lips, repeated with an enthusiasm that spread to the provinces. France fancied herself at the end of her troubles. As a great authority has well said, "At every moment France, eager to enjoy a revolution which hitherto had brought nothing but suffering, 'a freedom, the palm of which had been watered with tears and blood,' France hastened with all her might the completion of the temporary state of affairs, and without considering that revolutions seldom

prove profitable to the generations which devote themselves to the making of them, she sought to unite all parties in one spirit of concord and patriotism." This sentiment led to the projecting of the *fête de la fédération* of the 14th of July, 1790, when the past should be buried, and the future rise like a phœnix from its ashes, when the civil oath should be renewed by the King, the Assembly, the National Guard, and sixty thousand delegates of the departments, amidst the acclamations of millions of spectators from all parts of France.

The ceremony is to take place in the Champ de Mars, which area, covering a space of 300,000 square feet, must be got ready. There must be galleries and balconies, triumphal arches, and amphitheatres, with a large number of convenient seats, which are soft enough, as they are only made of turf, supported by timber. Platforms have also to be erected, and one large altar must be raised in the centre, to be called "the altar of the Fatherland." There is but a fortnight to do it in, and, what seems singular, the workmen are doing their business in a lazy manner; they have refused to work overtime; some say the aristocrats have bribed them to this refusal.

If, however, human energy can accomplish the task, accomplished it shall be. On the first Monday in July the sightseers and loiterers resume the work when the workmen have left off, at the booming of the signal gun. The next day they are waiting again, or rather they do not wait, but get spades and mattocks from

elsewhere, and set to simultaneously with the paid ones. "So many workers, and no mercenary mock-workers, but real ones that lie freely to it; each Patriot *stretches* himself against the stubborn glebe, hews and wheels with the whole weight that is in him. . . . Long-frocked, tonsured Monks [the monastic emancipation had occurred about five months before], with short-skirted Water-carriers, with swallow-tailed, well-frizzled *Incroyables*[1] of a Patriot turn; dark Charcoalmen, meal-white Peruke-makers; or Peruke-wearers, for Advocate and Judge are there, and all Heads of Districts; sober Nuns, sister-like with flaunting Nymphs of the Opera, and females in common circumstances named unfortunate; the patriot Rag-picker, and perfumed dweller in palaces. . . . . Abbé Siéyès is seen pulling by the side of Beauharnais. . . . . Abbé Maury did not pull, but the Charcoalmen brought a mummer guised like him, and he had to pull in effigy. Mayor Bailly, and Generalissimo Lafayette are there. . . . The king himself comes to see; sky rending *Vive le Roi!* And suddenly with shouldered spades they form a guard of honour round him. . . . A vintner has wheeled in, on Patriot truck, beverage of wine. 'Drink not, my brothers, if ye are not thirsty, that your cask may last the longer:' neither did any drink, but men evidently exhausted. A dapper Abbé looks on, sneering. 'To the barrow!' cry several, whom he, lest a worse thing befall him, obeys: nevertheless, one wiser Patriot barrowman, arriving now, interposes his *arrêtez;* setting down his

[1] The name given to the fashionables at that time.

own barrow, he snatches the Abbé's; trundles it fast, like an infected thing, forth of the Champ de Mars circuit, and discharges it *there*. Thus, too, a certain person (of some quality or private capital, to appearance), entering hastily, flings down his coat, waistcoat, and two watches, and is rushing to the thick of the work: 'But your watches?' cries the general voice. 'Does one distrust his brothers?' answers he; nor were the watches stolen."[1]

Meanwhile actors and spectators in this national spectacle are arriving from all parts of France. What a welcome do these provincials receive from Paris that has invited them! Museums, monuments, everything is open and free to these country cousins. Every one vies who shall entertain them, take them to the balls, the illuminations, the sights and pleasures of the capital. Their board and bed are spread in every house. There is a public list where the Parisians put down their names, and the number of guests their house will hold. Mademoiselle Arnould, erewhile actress at the opera, has room for four; M. d'Angivilliers for three. The visitors must also have a temporary club of their own. One is established in the archbishop's palace and adjacent gardens. They shall not be cheated of a *sou* if the Parisians can help it. A "Guide for Strangers"—a strange guide, we should call it—is expressly compiled for them. It warns them against the exorbitant charges of the hotel-keepers, at a time when so many good citizens distinguish themselves by the

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. ii., book i., chap. xi.

grandeur of their sacrifices. It warns them also against the extortions of those women, "in common circumstances named unfortunate," and does not hesitate to add a tariff according to the neighbourhood where these traffickers of Cythera may be found. And this unique and cynical price-list is publicly hawked about in the streets by little girls of eight and nine. "I do not know," says a witness to this monstrosity, "I do not know what took place at the Saturnalia of the Romans, but this I do know—that no people, ancient or modern, have ever offered anything like it in the way of unblushing corruption."

But the day arrives, and everything is ready for the ceremony. At seven in the morning the procession, composed of electors, representatives of the Commune, of the Constituent Assembly, the presidents of the districts, the Paris militia, deputies of the army, the Federates of the departments, started from the spot where once stood the Bastille. The presence of all these national corporations, the floating banners, the patriotic devices, the varied costumes, the sounds of music, the enthusiasm of the people, gave the spectacle an imposing aspect.

The procession passed through the town and crossed the Seine, amidst a salvo of artillery, placed on a pontoon-bridge stationed on the river. It entered the Champ-de-Mars through a triumphal arch decorated with patriotic inscriptions, each division repairing to the place marked out for it, amidst the thundering applause of the people.

"The vast area of the Champ-de-Mars was enclosed in an amphitheatre of earthworks covered with turf and boarding, and occupied by more than four hundred thousand spectators. In the centre rose the Altar of the Fatherland; close to that, on a huge platform, were the King and the Royal Family, the Assembly and municipality, the Federates of the departments in their several orders and with their distinguishing banners. The deputies of the army and the National Guards were beneath in their ranks and with their colours. Talleyrand de Périgord, Bishop of Autun, in pontifical vestment, mounted the steps of the altar, surrounded by four hundred priests dressed in white albs and tricolour girdles, celebrated mass whilst the military bands were playing, and afterwards blessed the national banner of France and the eighty-three departmental banners.

"Then ensued a deep silence in the vast enclosure, and Lafayette, appointed that day commander of the collective National Guards of the kingdom, was the first to advance and to take the civil oath. He was carried in the arms of the grenadiers up the steps of the altar, amidst the acclamations of the people, and in a loud voice, in his name, in the name of the troops and the Federates, he said: 'We swear to be ever faithful to the nation, the law, and the King, to maintain with our utmost power the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and to remain united to all Frenchmen by the indissoluble bonds of fraternity.' Immediately salvoes of artillery, prolonged shouts of 'Long live the nation! long live the King!' and sounds of

music, mingled together. The president of the Assembly took a similar oath, which was repeated by all the deputies at the same time. Then Louis XVI. rose and said: 'I, King of the French, I swear to use all power delegated to me by the constitutional law of the State, to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me.' The Queen, carried away by excitement, lifted the Dauphin in her arms, and showing him to the people, said, 'Here is my son; he, as well as myself, entertains the same sentiments.' At this very instant the banners were lowered, the people shouted for joy; the subject trusted in the sincerity of the monarch, the monarch to the attachment of the subject, and the happy day's work was completed by a canticle of thanksgiving."[1]

For some days the festivities of the Federation were kept up with spectacles and illuminations, with balls given to the departmental deputies by the Paris municipality. One of these balls was held on the spot where the Bastille had stood, the old door of which had been somehow nailed together, and bore the inscription, "Dancing going on here." An enormous maypole, surmounted by a gigantic Phrygian cap, stood in the midst of this open-air entertainment. "In fact," says a writer of the period, "people danced joyfully and in safety on the same spot where so many tears had flowed, where so often courage, genius, innocence, had groaned, where so many times the cries of despair had been stifled." When the junkettings were over a medal was struck to

[1] Mignet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, chap. iii.

perpetuate the memory of the *fête*, and the Federates returned to their departments.

The 14th of July may be said to have been the Indian summer of royalty. Hostilities had been suspended, not abandoned; intrigues recommenced inside as well as outside the Assembly; the Duke of Orleans had returned from his foreign mission, or rather from his exile; the inquiry respecting the revolts of the 5th and 6th of October of the previous year, of which, in common with Mirabeau, he was accused of being the instigator, was renewed. Passions that might have lain dormant were roused, and worked evil. Nor was it simply individual deputies who were attacked through the secret machinations of the Court, but the Assembly itself did not escape the wickedly-laid plots. Libellous pamphlets were sold at its very doors, tending to bring it into discredit with the people; the ministers themselves censured it and obstructed its progress. Necker, too much wedded to the recollection of his former ascendency, presumed to give it advice, to harass it with *Memoirs*, in which he criticised and questioned its decrees. He would or could not accustom himself to play a secondary part; he would not follow the startling measures proposed by the Assembly; measures entirely opposed to his methodical schemes of successive reform. At last, weary of the uselessness of his efforts, he tendered his resignation on the 4th of September, and left the country unnoticed, travelling through departments where a twelvemonth ago he had met with ovations closely resembling the triumphal

march of a conqueror. With the departure of Necker, followed by the retirement of the other ministers, the King lost the sole trusty counsellor who had hitherto kept him in the groove of the Revolution. Louis XVI. was in no way reassured about the legitimacy of his concessions; he mistrusted a Constitution that granted him a civil list of thirty millions of francs, but which had deprived him—"a terrible proof of popular mistrust," says a historian—of the prerogative of mercy. He felt within himself a kind of remorse at having frittered away and lessened the inheritance left him by his ancestors. He vacillated between a well-meaning desire for the good of his people and the ideas of divine right, inculcated from his cradle. Fresh troubles had again broken out in the provinces, caused by mutinous soldiers. The officers, still belonging to the aristocracy, were distrusted and hated by the troops for their pride and tyranny, and, moreover, accused of defrauding them of part of their pay. So numerous were these disorders, that the Assembly decreed that the regimental treasurers should send in their accounts. The soldiers, having gained the victory, became more undisciplined still. The officers ill-treated them. Reprisals followed, which ended in armed revolt. The most serious was that of Nancy, where three regiments carried off the account-boxes to audit them. The Assembly ordered the commander of Metz, the Marquis de Bouillé, to bring the rebels to submission. Bouillé was one of these Royalists who would have attempted a counter-Revolution through the army, and by isolating

the military from the people he had maintained his ascendency over them. He marched on Nancy with his troops and the Metz National Guard, and ordered the three regiments to draw up outside the town. The regiments refused, the Nancy population took the part of the soldiers, and a terrible battle ensued, in which three thousand men perished (31st August). The three regiments were vanquished; twenty-nine of the ring-leaders were shot, whilst forty-two were sent to the galleys. The Assembly passed a vote of thanks to de Bouillé; but the Parisians blamed this expedition, which appeared to them counter-revolutionary. They looked upon the rebellious soldiers as victims of the aristocracy, and threatened the Court with an attack, which Lafayette managed to avert, but at the sacrifice of his popularity.

We have already stated that Necker's resignation brought in its train the retirement of his fellow-ministers, with the exception of one. Irritated at having to choose a new council in such an emergency, Louis began to make plans for flight. Whilst he was projecting this, the laws regarding the clergy were passed, but were disapproved by the Pope. He felt now that all his sacrifices had been in vain; he lost all hope of governing according to the Constitution, and had but one thought left—either to destroy the Revolution by means of the aristocrats and assistance from the exterior, or to arrest it by means of the moderate party in the interior. The first was the plan of the Queen, of the Count d'Artois, and the Court, seconded by the *émigrés*, who

were rejoicing in the difficulties the Assembly had to contend with, and were continually reminding the King that he must either be entirely dependent upon the multitude, or else do without their support altogether, thinking by these means to drive the monarch back to the *ancien régime*—as if such a thing were possible. The second plan was that of the Marquis de Bouillé and of the majority of the royalist deputies and others, who scarcely loved the Revolution, but objected still more to emigration. With his customary indecision, Louis wavered between the two.

At one time he invoked the aid of the European Sovereigns, as he did the King of Prussia's, to whom he wrote the following letter: "I confidently claim your interest in this moment, when, notwithstanding my acceptance of the new Constitution, the factious parties openly show me their plan of destroying the remainder of the monarchy. I have also addressed myself to the Emperor, the Empress of Russia, to the Kings of Spain and Sweden, and presented to them the plan of a congress of the principal European Powers, supported by a numerous army, as the best means of stopping the factions, of establishing a more endurable order of things, and of preventing the other States of Europe from being infected with the evil that threatens me. I hope your Majesty will approve of my ideas, and keep them a profound secret. . . . "

But, at another time, the innate feeling for his country made him regret what he had written, and mistrustful of the disinterestedness of foreign potentates.

It is certain that Louis solicited foreign interference with repugnance, that he returned joyfully to the alternative. In this, as in many other things, his views were not sufficiently liberal; he imagined that the Revolution was the work, not of the entire nation, but of some individuals, and that by rallying these individuals to his cause, he would accomplish his own aim.

The Constitutional party, of which Lafayette was the head, offered him their support, which was declined chiefly by reason of the blind hatred of the Queen for the popular soldier. Then the Court addressed itself to another popular leader, thinking him more amenable to bribery, Mirabeau. The latter was, as we have already stated, honest in his intentions, but he became afraid of the headlong march of the Assembly, and did not agree with the new Constitution. He thought that it was too democratic for a monarchy; and that if it were meant for a republic, there was a King too much. And with this overweening self-confidence that led him to say, "that he would make of France a republic or a monarchy at his own will," he endeavoured to reconcile the people to the Crown, and the Court to the Revolution. Amidst these secret intrigues the Queen sent to ask his support to save the monarchy, and knowing Mirabeau's pecuniary embarrassments, had the message accompanied by an offer of money. The pact was concluded, though Mirabeau in no way sold his convictions. He accepted the charge on the sole condition that the Court and throne should travel in the way he had mapped out for

them. Though the alliance dated from January, 1790, he nevertheless continued throughout the whole year to oppose the Court violently on most measures that did not tally with his principles. But wherever these were not at stake, Mirabeau eagerly seized the opportunity of assisting the throne.

More than once he was accused of having betrayed the Revolution, but he staunchly defended the principles which he deemed consistent with the task he had proposed to himself, and which, perhaps, he would have accomplished but for his death. A short time before his decease he was denounced as a traitor by the Jacobins, but, undismayed, he continued his plans at counter-Revolution, and finding that the Court was more disposed than at first to trust him, and to take a resolution, he advised the King to fly to Lyons, from there to act as mediator between the *émigrés* and the Assembly, and to frame a new Constitution which should embody all the great principles of the Revolution. He assured the Court of the support of a part of the Assembly, of the orators at the clubs, and of the administrative authorities of thirty-six departments. The King, apprehensive of civil war, hesitated for a long while, but would have yielded, no doubt, if in the midst of the discussions and plans made by Bouillé, Mirabeau had not died, on the 2nd of April, 1791, after many months of intense suffering, during which he heroically fulfilled his duties. He died as he had lived, a wondrous gigantic intellect lucid to the last. "He longs to live, yet acquiesces in death, argues not with

the inexorable. His speech is wild and wondrous: unearthly Phantasms dancing now their torch-dance round his soul; the soul itself looking out, fire-radiant, motionless, girt together for that great hour! At times comes a beam of light from him on the world he is quitting. 'I carry in my heart the death-dirge of the French Monarchy; the dead remains of it will now be the spoil of the factious.' Or again, when he heard the cannon fire . . . . 'Have we the Achilles' funeral already?' So, likewise, while some friend is supporting him: 'Yes, support that head. Would I could bequeath it to thee.' For the man dies as he has lived—self-conscious, conscious of a world looking on. He gazes forth on the young Spring, which for him will never be Summer. The sun has risen. . . . Death has mastered the outworks; power of speech is gone; the citadel of the heart still holding out. The moribund giant, passionately, by sign, demands paper and pen; writes his passionate demand for opium, to end these agonies. The sorrowful Doctor shakes his head: 'To sleep,' writes the other, passionately pointing at it! So dies a gigantic Heathen and Titan; stumbling blindly, undismayed, down to his rest. At half-past eight in the morning Doctor Petit, standing at the foot of the bed, says, 'His sufferings are at an end.'"[1]

Noiseless, though terror-striking as lightning, the news spreads through Paris. The mourning is universal.

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. ii., book iii., chap. vii.

"Oh, Thou, Governor of the human race, why didst Thou not throttle Death as he was about to take hold of Riquetti? . . . . . Maury, Jean François, thou triumphest! Death avenges thee for the tosses this wild boar gave thee, when, fuming with rage, thou soughtest to tear him down like a barking wolf-hound." Thus Hébert, in his *Père Duchéne*, bewails Mirabeau.

A hushed, lugubrious, immense wail resounds throughout the kingdom, when this man passes into eternity, disappearing suddenly like an actor in a prologue, who has aroused our interest, but whom we shall see no more in the real drama. A silent, choking wind seems to pass over the land, when the soul of Mirabeau flees her earthly dwelling. It is like the gathering of the storm, for the destiny of France has no longer any counterweight.

On the evening of the 4th of April a solemn public funeral procession, such as had rarely ever been seen, about a league long, and consisting of a hundred thousand people, slowly proceeded to the Church of Sainte-Geneviéve. That had been consecrated by a decree of the National Assembly into a Pantheon, wherein a grateful Fatherland might inter its great men. The sad ceremony was not finished till nearly midnight, and Mirabeau was the first who occupied a vault in that edifice, into which, later on, many were buried, less deserving of their country's gratitude.

Not a shred of colour is to be seen throughout the whole of the capital. The Rue Chaussée d'Antin has

been changed for the nonce into Rue Mirabeau the Patriot. And before the house he inhabited, the proprietress, Julie Talma, has erected the bust of the "French Demosthenes," crowned with laurels. The celebrated Houdon has taken his cast. The "friends of the Constitution" go into mourning for four days. The Lyceum writes on the programme of its sittings, "Men are requested to wear black, women white, for the death of Mirabeau." The "Société des Sylphes," adjourns its opening balls. Hundreds of Mirabeau's effigies are sold in wax. The Abbé d'Espagnac pays fifty louis for his bust in marble. Death changes Mirabeau, like the primitive kings of Rome, into a deity. Rumours are spread that he has met his death by foul play. The opera singer, Mdlle. Coulon, where Mirabeau is supposed to have partaken of the homicidal supper, writes an explanation to the public, winding up with an heroic epitaph on the friend she has lost. Mirabeau was right when he prophesied that his death would be the ruin of the monarchy. In him Louis lost the last sensible adviser he had. The preparations for flight were renewed, but instead of following the plans bequeathed by Mirabeau, others were designed less certain of success, and more criminal in intention. The King should seek an asylum in some frontier town, near de Bouillé's army; from thence dictate his will to the Assembly, and in case of reverse, take flight into a foreign land.

At first a pretext was found in the Royal Family going to spend the last week in Lent at St. Cloud, but the mob stopped the carriages. In vain did Lafayette

try to clear the road by armed force; the National Guard refused to obey, and the King had to return to the Tuileries (18th April). Louis protested to the Assembly against this indignity, but instead of deriving a lesson from this outrage, which plainly showed the temper of the nation, he demeaned himself with all kinds of duplicity, by affecting the greatest zeal for the Revolution, by sanctioning all the decrees which he had formerly opposed, all the while secretly protesting against this sanction. He issued a manifesto to his ambassadors, wherein he professed the most exaggerated enthusiasm for the Constitution, stigmatising those as his enemies who should question his perfect freedom, though, as he admitted later on, this document was penned with the intention of having it believed that it had been dragged from him by violence. At the same time he kept up a correspondence with foreign princes, asking them to concert definite measures for his safety. The Count d'Artois, with the sanction of the King, had an interview with the Emperor of Austria, in which it was decided that 35,000 Austrian troops should make their way into Flanders, 15,000 into Alsace, whilst 30,000 Piedmontese should march upon Lyons, and 20,000 Spaniards occupy the defiles of the Pyrenees. But Louis' vacillation again frustrated this attempt, because he distrusted his brothers and strangers, and the original plan was once more resorted to. De Bouillé had troops posted on the road from Montmédy to Châlons, awaiting the signal from Paris. He had not long to wait, for day by day the King's position was

growing more burdensome. On the 4th of May troubles broke out afresh. Tidings reached Paris that his Holiness Pius VI. had thought fit to excommunicate Bishop Talleyrand. Upon this the mob burned the Pope in effigy, after having held a mock trial in the gardens of the Palais Royal. In such an extraordinary manner did expiring Roman Catholicism receive its death-blow.

The King did not mean to cross the frontier except in case of necessity, which necessity having, as he considered, arisen, everything was put in readiness, he and his family, on the 20th of June, left the Tuileries in disguise. The Count of Provence, to allay suspicion, had taken the road to Brussels where he, in due course, arrived unmolested.

"On Monday night, the Twentieth of June, 1791, about eleven o'clock, there is many a hackney coach, and glass-coach, still rumbling, or at rest, on the streets of Paris. But of all glass-coaches we recommend this to thee, O Reader, which stands drawn up in the Rue de l'Echelle, hard by the Carrousel and out-gate of the Tuileries . . . . as if waiting for a fare there! Not long does it wait, a hooded Dame with two hooded Children has issued from Villequier's door, where no sentry walks, into the Tuileries Court-of-Princes; into the Carrousel; into the Rue de l'Echelle; where the Glass-coachman readily admits them; and again waits. Not long; another Dame, likewise hooded or shrouded, leaning on a servant, issues in the same manner; bids the servant good-night; and is, in the same manner, by the Glass-coachman, cheerfully admitted. Whither go

so many Dames? 'Tis his Majesty's *Couchée*, Majesty just gone to bed, and all the Palace-world is retiring home. But the Glass-coachman still waits; his fare seemingly incomplete.

"By-and-by, we note a thick-set individual, in round hat and peruke, arm-and-arm with some servant, seemingly of the Runner or Courier sort; he also issues through Villequier's door; starts a shoe-buckle as he passes one of the sentries, stoops down to clasp it again; is, however, by the Glass-coachman still more cheerfully admitted. And *now*, is his fare complete? Not yet; the Glass-coachman still waits.—Alas! and the false Chambermaid has warned Gouvion that she thinks the Royal Family will fly this very night; and Gouvion, distrusting his own glazed eyes, has sent express for Lafayette; and Lafayette's Carriage, flaring with lights, rolls this moment through the inner Arch of the Carrousel—where a Lady shaded in broad gypsy-hat, and leaning on the arm of a servant, also of the Runner or Courier sort, stands aside to let it pass, and has even the whim to touch a spoke of it with her *badine*,—light little magic rod which she calls *badine*, such as the Beautiful then wore. The flare of Lafayette's Carriage rolls past; all is found quiet in the Court-of-Princes; sentries at their posts; Majesties' Apartments closed in smooth rest. Your false Chambermaid must have been mistaken? Watch thou, Gouvion, with Argus' vigilance; for, of a truth, treachery is within these walls.

"But where is the Lady that stood aside in gypsy-

hat, and touched the wheel-spoke with her *badine?* O Reader, that Lady that touched the wheel-spoke was the Queen of France! She has issued safe through that inner Arch, into the Carrousel itself; but not into the Rue de l'Echelle. Flurried by the rattle and rencounter, she took the right hand not the left; neither she nor her Courier knows Paris; he, indeed, is no Courier, but a loyal stupid *ci-devant* Bodyguard disguised as one. They are off, quite wrong, over the Pont Royal and River; roaming disconsolate in the Rue du Bac; far from the Glass-coachman, who still waits. Waits, with flutter of heart; with thoughts—which he must button close up, under his jarvie surtout!

"Midnight clangs from all the City steeples; one precious hour has been spent so; most mortals are asleep. The Glass-coachman waits; and in what mood. . . . . Be the Heavens blest! here at length is the Queen-lady, in gypsy-hat; safe after perils; who has had to inquire her way. She too is admitted; her Courier jumps aloft, as the other, who is also a disguised Bodyguard, has done, and now, O Glass-coachman . . . . drive . . . . And so the royalty of France is actually fled."[1]

Paris awakes in the morning surprised at the news, but without consternation. The Assembly meets and decides with promptitude and firmness what is to be done. Lafayette is examined, nay almost accused of complicity. A letter from the King to the Assembly explains the whole, and is discussed calmly by the legislature, which passes to the order of the day. But amidst

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. ii., book iv., chap. iii.

this calmness all the effigies and insignia of royalty are destroyed, even from the sign-boards of shops; the "Royal Bengal Tiger" is changed into "National Bengal Tiger." The Republican press utters cries of joy at France being rid of an imbecile king and of a Messalina, who thirsted for blood like a Catherine de Medici. "This is the moment," Marat proposes to the Assembly, "to chop off the heads of the ministers, of Lafayette, of all the scoundrels of the staff, of Bailly, of all the traitor-members of the Assembly," which rather immoderate suggestion is treated with silent contempt. Instead of acting upon this bloodthirsty advice, the Assembly takes the more sensible resolution of sitting permanently, and decrees that all the authorities and National Guards shall bestir themselves to arrest the King in his flight, which it still persists in calling an abduction; that the ministers shall receive their orders directly from the Assembly, which undertakes the executive; that its decrees shall be executed without sanction or comment; that the frontiers shall be placed in a state of defence, and the National Guard on a war footing. In less than four hours the Assembly had invested itself with entire power; the Government continued the even tenor of its way, public tranquillity did not receive the slightest shock, and Paris and France learned by this experiment, so fatal to royalty, that the monarch is nearly always a stranger to the government that exists in his name.

"He that has a secret should not only hide it, but hide that he has to hide it." Instead of which the

royal family were courting attention on their journey of evasion by a new carriage, expressly built for them, by a quantity of luggage, by the glaring yellow liveries of their footmen and outriders. It is therefore not surprising that at Saint-Ménéhould they are recognised by the postmaster Drouet, who to make "assurance doubly sure," calls for a new *assignat* and compares the picture on it with the face of the thickset individual in the round hat and peruke looking out of the coach. After which he and his clerk have two of the fleetest horses saddled, mount them, and gallop through cross-roads to Varennes, where they intercept the royal fugitives, barricading the bridge, with whatever wagons, tumbrils, barrows, barrels, their hands can lay hold of, and making them alight on the pretext of examining their passports.

The King, Queen, King's sister, and royal children are led to the mayor's house, where the monarch is told that he has been recognised. In vain does Louis address the inhabitants, asking them to let him continue his journey; he is told that he must return to Paris. At this moment the hussars, stationed by de Bouillé at some little distance from the village under the command of the general's son, appear upon the spot, but they refuse to obey their officers, and allow themselves to be disarmed by the National Guard. The horses' heads are set towards Paris, and the royal carriage starts on its homeward journey under a strong escort. Two hours later de Bouillé himself arrives with a regiment of cavalry, to deliver the King, but he finds Varennes barricaded,

the bridge destroyed, and the National Guard under arms. He can but go back, and escape over the frontier.

When the letter from the Varennes municipality announcing the King's arrest, arrived in Paris, three commissioners, Latour-Maubourg, Pétion, and Barnave, were immediately sent to meet the royal carriage with full authority to insure the return of the King at any cost. The journey lasted eight days, the royal family, notwithstanding the lining of the roads with nearly a hundred thousand National Guards, being spared neither reproaches nor insults. But in Paris itself they were received by the mob with an ominous silence, foreboding greater evil perhaps, than the outbursts of revolutionary passion in the provinces. In fact, on the Saturday morning the Parisians had been solemnly warned against all or any demonstration, by a terse but seriously-worded placard, posted all over the town: "Whosoever insults Louis shall be caned, whosoever applauds him shall be hanged." Nevertheless, it had been thought advisable to occupy every available place with troops, under the command of Lafayette, and in this way the fugitives re-entered the Tuileries.

The difficult problem at present was what to do with the King. The Assembly decreed that he should be temporarily suspended from his functions; it set a guard over him and the Queen, which was personally responsible for their safety. Two hundred and ninety deputies protested against this, and to render the decrees of the Assembly null and void, refused to take part in the

discussions (30th June). Violent debates ensued about the inviolability of the King and the re-establishment of his authority. The Jacobins pretended that his flight was equivalent to abdication, and that the Assembly had but one thing left to do, to declare his deposition and proclaim the Republic. This was the first time the word Republic had been uttered openly, though it had existed in reality some time ago; it was the fault, not of the Assembly and the Constitution, but of the Revolution itself, which, born from the hatred of the *ancien régime*, had already to such an extent destroyed Monarchical power, that there was nothing left of it but the bare name. The newspapers, the districts, the heads of the clubs took up the cry, "There is no longer a King." The Extreme Liberal party, which had amongst its members two men, Pétion and Robespierre, who had gained with the people a reputation for austere and uncompromising patriotism, and which had hitherto followed and supported the tactics of the Constitutional party, now entered the arena on its own account, and openly avowed its Republican tendencies. The Constitutional party, on the contrary, voted for the reinstatement of the King. At the head of this movement were Barnave (the same who had conducted the royal family back to Paris) and the brothers Alexandre and Charles Lameth. They sacrificed their popularity, and endeavoured to restore the throne which they had so laboured to overturn; but they found that it is easier to break down than to build up again. The Jacobins, not to be beaten, appealed to the people in favour of the

King's deposition, and for this purpose prepared a petition, which was laid for signature on the same Champ-de-Mars where, less than a year ago, the feast of the Federation had been held. At these violent measures, Barnave, the Lameths, Duport, and others, who had hitherto guided the Democratic movement, became frightened, and a reaction, tending to Monarchical ideas, took place among them. They coalesced with the Centre, and every one who valued the Constitution rallied round them; and though it was easily to be foreseen what the prospect would be of a throne occupied by a King, powerless and incapable of commanding respect, a strong majority insisted upon saving their Constitutional handiwork, by preserving the Royal authority.

It was even said that the commissioners appointed to examine the King upon his flight secretly dictated to him a declaration which should, at least, palliate the offence. A decree was passed which suspended Louis from his powers until the Constitution should be completed. "The discussion that preceded this was protracted and embittered, but the efforts of the Republicans, their obduracy notwithstanding, were without result. Most of their orators wanted a Republic or a Regency, which would pave the way to it. Barnave, after having opposed them by every means in his power, finished his speech with these remarkable words, 'Regenerators of the Empire, follow the way you have marked out for yourselves. You have shown that you had the courage to destroy the abuses of power; you have shown that you have everything necessary

to substitute for them wise and moderate institutions; it remains for you to prove that you have the wisdom to maintain and protect them. The nation has just given a great proof of courage and strength; she has solemnly brought to light, and that spontaneously, all that she could oppose to the attacks wherewith she was threatened. Continue the same precautions; let our limits, our frontiers be vigorously defended. But whilst we manifest our power, let us also show our moderation; let us present peace to the world, uneasy at the events occurring among us; let us present an opportunity of triumph to all those in foreign lands who have taken an interest in our Revolution! They cry to us from all sides. You are powerful, be wise, be moderate; this is the aim of your glory; it is thus that you will show that in various circumstances you know how to employ various talents, means, and virtues.'

"As we have seen, the Assembly took the advice of Barnave. But to appease the fury of the mob, it decreed not only the temporary suspension of the King from his functions, but it added that his flight would be considered a virtual abdication, if he retracted his sanction from the Constitution when it should be completed; or if, in the meantime, he should put himself at the head of whatsoever army, either personally or by proxy. In this case he should be regarded as a simple citizen, ceasing to be inviolable, and subject to be arraigned for all his acts posterior to his abdication."[1]

In addition to this, the Constitutional party rein-

[1] Mignet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, chap. iv.

forced by the Centre opened a new club, which was known as the Feuillants, to counteract the violent measures and harangues of the Jacobins. Its chiefs were Barnave and the Lameths. Nor did the Jacobins want for leaders; "they had combated under Mirabeau against the Lameths, under the Lameths against Mirabeau. They fought under Pétion and Robespierre once more against the Lameths. The party that wished for a second Revolution had constantly supported the most extreme partisans of the Revolution which had already been accomplished, because in this way it claimed as its own both the struggle and victory. From a subordinate, it now assumed an independent part; it no longer fought in the interest of others, but for itself, and under its own banner. The Court, by its multiplied mistakes, by its imprudent machinations, and last of all, by the flight of the monarch, had given it the opportunity of avowing its intentions, and the Lameths, in breaking with it, had in reality left it to its true chiefs."[1]

The passing of the decree for the mere temporary suspension of Louis XVI. drove the Republicans beside themselves with rage. They excited the mob, and continued the signatures to the petition for the King's deposition in the Champ-de-Mars, where large crowds assembled. The Assembly called the municipality to the bar, and demanded that they should preserve public order by every means in their power. Bailly and Lafayette repaired to the Champ-de-Mars, where more than ten thousand names had already been

[1] Mignet, *Ibid.*

appended to the petition, and after several hours of exhortation and negotiation, during which the authorities were treated with derision, martial law was proclaimed. Meanwhile two individuals found concealed under the wooden steps of the Fatherland Altar, and unable to give a good account of themselves, had been summarily dealt with, by means of the nearest lamp-post. In its blind fury the mob now declared that these two individuals had been sent thither, so that their execution might be a pretext for the rigorous measures of Lafayette and Bailly. As if one could buy human beings to be killed for a consideration, as in China. The summons to surrender was answered by thousands of yells, and volleys of stones, pebbles, and mud. Nay, a pistol-shot was levelled at the popular general. Upon which he ordered his troops to fire, and a hundred or so of individuals bit the dust, wounded or killed. The crowd dispersed, vowing revenge; terror spread through the Republican party, but the last link of good will between the latter and the Constitutionalists, between the orderly citizens and the lawless mob, was broken. Henceforth it was "war to the knife." The same evening the Jacobin club counted but six members formerly belonging to the Left, all the others had gone over to the Feuillants. Even the National Guard felt misgivings as to their day's work in the Champ-de-Mars. The Revolution had after all imitated the tactics of the *ancien régime*, it had fired upon the people. From that moment Barnave, the Lameths, Duport, and others, were considered by the

people their enemies; its hatred was now divided between the *émigrés* and the Constitutionalists. Bailly and Lafayette were held up to execration.

All these disturbances were so many elements of hope to the Royalists. They had already recovered from the consternation in which the frustrated attempt of the King's flight had thrown them. The monarch's brother reached Brussels in safety, with full powers, and the title of regent. From this town, in combination with the self-exiled nobles, he invoked the assistance of the foreign courts, pointing out to them the internally disturbed condition of France. In this he was assisted by the officers who had left their regiments, and by the two hundred and ninety Royalist deputies, who continued to protest against the decrees of the Assembly, in order to justify the foreign invasion which they thought was at hand. De Bouillé, from his retreat beyond the frontier, wrote a threatening letter to the Assembly, in the mad hope of intimidating them, but also at the same time to exculpate the King in case the expedition should again fail.

Until now all these *émigrés* and fomenters of disturbances had received more promises than co-operation from without; in vain did they point encouragingly to the easy suppression of the revolution in Belgium, to the disorganised state of the French army, to the disturbances in France itself, the sovereigns of Prussia and Austria hesitated still, apprehensive of the ambitious views of Catherine of Russia, who was continuing her victorious war against the Turks, and really threatened the road to Constantinople. The Anglo-Prussian league pre-

tended that it was time for the European powers to occupy themselves with the Revolution of the West, and reproached Catherine with her selfishness in carrying to the end a war which obliged them to remain on the alert; and thus prevented them from being useful where help was most needed. Whether really afraid of these menaces, or whether she thought that while the whole of Europe was engaged in a war with France, she would more easily accomplish her projects with regard to Turkey and Poland, Catherine consented to a peace with the former of these two countries, and to leave the question of the latter in abeyance (4th August). The *émigrés* renewed their solicitations with redoubled vigour, with the result that Frederick William of Prussia and Leopold of Austria concluded a convention at Pilnitz, somewhat vague, it is true, but in which they threatened to invade France, unless Louis were restored to his former liberty, the Assembly dissolved, and the *émigrés* reinstated in their property and privileges.

If the foreign powers intended the manifesto as a check upon the revolutionary progress, they had reckoned literally without their host, though deceived by their guests. The news of this convention was received with feelings of indignation. France asked herself by what right strangers meddled with the affairs of a great people, and the nation threatened to carry the Revolution beyond the borders to the very heart of the would-be invaders' homes. The people prepared for a most stubborn resistance. The frontiers were placed in a

state of defence. A hundred thousand National Guards were drafted for frontier service, and the enemy's attacks were awaited with assurance by a people convinced of its invincibility while defending its right of managing its home concerns.

It would have been well had the Assembly in this instance shown itself as active as formerly. But limiting the Revolution to the making of the Constitution, it never dreamt that its work had aught to fear from outside influence, and imagined that it would be received by the despotisms of Europe as a substitute for his most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI. It had deprecated all intentions at conquest, and having done so thought it ought to be allowed to carry on in peace its task of internal regeneration; overlooking the fact that the Revolution, placing France in a position hostile to her neighbours, would, of necessity, entail war, and a war of propaganda; and that it should have prepared for it. The new Constitution was approaching completion, and the Assembly was content to leave to its successor this important question to solve, limiting itself to the levy of the hundred thousand National Guards already spoken of. Thus, while the nation was a prey to unrest and threatening anxiety, the Assembly calmly pursued its way. It still committed a greater oversight. To show its disinterestedness, it decreed, on the motion of Robespierre, that no member of the present Assembly should be eligible either as a deputy for the next, or for a post conferred by the King. To the great joy of the Republicans, as well as of the Royalists,

they left the fabric they had reared with so much difficulty to the tender mercies of a new set of men, who would certainly be elected through the influence of the most violent Republicanism, and would not scruple to undermine, if not pull down, what they had built up. It seemed as if the taunt of Adrien Duport was to be verified: "They wished to expose France every two years to a revolution in the laws and opinions." The same movement of Quixotic generosity that swayed the Assembly induced Bailly and Lafayette to divest themselves of their respective functions of mayor and generalissimo. The Paris National Guard was reorganised, and none but *active* citizens were admitted; it was composed of six legions of ten battalions each, whose chiefs were to take the supreme command in turns, during the space of one month. In this way there was not one man left of those who had taken the oath in the Tennis Court at Versailles.

The Constitution was completed and sent to the King, who immediately appended his sanction. "I undertake," he wrote, "to uphold the Constitution within the kingdom, to defend it against all attacks from without, and to have it obeyed by all the means it places within my power. I declare that, knowing that the great majority of the nation adheres to it, I renounce the co-operation I had claimed in this work, and that, being responsible to the nation only, no one else has the right to complain, seeing that I do not." After which he came to the Assembly and took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution (14th

September). The former, on the motion of Lafayette, having decreed a general amnesty for all political crimes and offences, the president declared "that the National Constituent Assembly had terminated its mission" (30th September).

§ III.—THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(*From the 1st October, 1791, to the 10th August, 1792.*)

THE most glorious destiny was predicted for the Constitution, yet it did not live a twelvemonth; the Assembly that was to apply it was but a transition between the Constitutional Monarchy and the Republic. It was because the Revolution partook much more of a social than of a political overthrow. The Constitution had done all it could for the political part, but the social fabric remained to be reformed; the ancient privileged classes had been scotched, but not killed. The python, when cut into many pieces, is said to live in each of its fragments. So with the nobles and clergy, who were nursing their resentment, and sought by every means to regain their lost power. The people, on the other side, excited by their success, did not deem victory complete as long as their hereditary enemies had aught left of their prerogatives, and as long as they had not their share of the spoil as well as the middle classes. The Constitution, therefore, was placed between the cross fires of those who had lost and wished to regain and those who, having won much, wanted more. In vain did it appeal to both sides to abate some of their pretensions, to the nobles to concede something, to the people not to claim

so much. The new Legislative Assembly was composed of seven hundred and forty-five deputies, mostly chosen from the middle classes and devoted to the Revolution; those of the Right and Extreme Right going by the name of Feuillants, those of the Left and Extreme Left by the name of Jacobins. The Right was composed of Constitutionalists, who counted on the support of the National Guard and departmental authorities. Their ideas of the Revolution were embodied in the Constitution; they saw no salvation beyond it, thinking that the latter was sufficient to save the former. Representatives of the middle classes, they wanted to ensure the triumph of their constituents by allying themselves to the ancient privileged classes and to the clergy, and by keeping the people from power. The most remarkable among them were Matthieu Dumas, Girardin, Lemontey, Ramond, and several others. They kept up some relations with the Court by means of Barnave and the Lameths, but their pillar outside the Assembly, their trusty counsellor, seems to have been Lafayette. The Extreme Right was only distinguished from the Right Centre by its more pronounced attachment to the King and its relations with the Court, but however defective it found the Constitution it meant to abide by it. The Left was composed of men resolved at all risks to further the Revolution, even at the expense of the Constitution. They intended to go as far as a Republic, only they lacked common unity of views, and did not form a compact body; they also were representatives of the citizens, they also wanted their triumph, but they sought

to obtain it by different means, by leaguing themselves with the people against the privileged classes. They reckoned among their numbers Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, deputies of the Gironde, powerful and vehement orators, and from whom their party afterwards took the name of "Girondins;" also Brissot (born 1754), a talented journalist, who had drawn up the petition for the King's deposition; and Condorcet (born 1743), an ultra-liberal, but a brilliant philosopher. Their leader outside the Assembly was Pétion (born 1753), a cold, calculating, and dissembling Republican, enjoying great popularity with the masses. The Extreme Left, occupying in small numbers the raised seats in the Assembly, from which circumstance they afterwards took the name of "the Mountain," were auxiliaries of the "Girondins" in their attempts to further a Revolution which should be entirely in the interest of the people. Their inspirers outside the Assembly were Robespierre (born 1759), who controlled the club of the Jacobins by his dogmatic rigorism and fame for integrity; and Danton (born 1759), surnamed the Mirabeau of the "Breechless" (*Sansculottes*), a bold and daring spirit, who swayed the new club of the Cordeliers. The Centre was composed of nonentities, their moderation was inspired by fear, hence they nearly always voted with the Left.

It will be seen that out of the two parties inimical to the Constitution, only one was represented, and that in a minority, the Republicans. As for the Royalists, they had no means of legal action, and were consequently reduced to obtain their rights by illegal measures, which

with them meant civil and foreign war. In the interior they pursued their old tactics of instigating evil that good might come from it. Far from distinguishing between such men as Lafayette, Robespierre, and Pétion, they strengthened the latters' hands, thinking by those means to weaken the former. The Court, incited by the Queen, treated Lafayette with a blindfold hatred, by opposing Pétion to him at every turn. When the honest, well-meaning soldier was about to be elected Mayor of Paris, Marie Antoinette, through her machinations, caused the nomination of Pétion, who employed his exalted position in overturning the Throne and the Constitution.

In a like manner the nobles acted everywhere, endeavouring to bribe the clubs, and to gain to their side such popular chiefs as Danton. But this also turned against them; and the Royalists had nothing left to embarrass the Revolution but clerical conspiracies. A crusade was preached against the Constitutional priests, which resulted in the revolts of several districts in Poitou and Brittany. Civil war simply became a question of time.

Out of France the behaviour of the nobles grew more hostile and threatening still. Notwithstanding their manifesto, Frederick William and Leopold, having seen the King accept the Constitution, paused irresolutely, while openly proclaiming their friendly intentions. England seemed resolved upon remaining neutral; Spain, Sweden, and Russia alone appeared evilly disposed. In the face of all this the *émigrés* continued their pre-

parations of war, incited thereto by the King's brothers, who had protested against the accepting of the Constitution, and maintained that this acceptance was not sincere on the monarch's part. Emigration was foolishly encouraged by the newspapers in their pay; they openly boasted that 2,000 officers had deserted from the army, that 15,000 noblemen were gathered at Coblentz, and that 400,000 foreign troops were ready to assist them.

Though Louis ardently wished for the return of the *émigrés* to support the now disorganised Royalist party in the interior, he felt the danger of all these bravadoes, which made the people defiant, and led to the journals and clubs hinting at treachery, and to the Assembly devising measures, the rigour of which he was beforehand determined never to sanction. He issued a proclamation inviting the *émigrés* to return (14th October), telling them at the same time that he had freely subscribed to the Constitution. This proclamation, far from being listened to, was regarded, like all the other actions of the King, as wrung from him by force. In a letter to Louis, his brothers expressed themselves to this effect, telling him, with all due reverence, that they would continue their plans.

Face to face with these Royalist conspiracies, seeing the King surrounded by refractory and seditious priests, and suspecting his secret correspondence, the new Assembly had to devise measures to meet the impending war. This it did at once, in a way not sanctioned by the new Constitution, because it thought that Constitution insufficient, and because it wanted to know how

far the King would oppose it in the struggle to be enacted. It occupied itself quickly with the exterior, and decreed (9th November): firstly, that the Count of Provence should re-enter the kingdom within two months, under penalty of forfeiting his eventual right to the regency; secondly, that all Frenchmen assembled beyond the Rhine were suspected of conspiracy, and that unless they dispersed before the 1st of January they would be prosecuted and punished with death; that their revenues should be confiscated by the State, without prejudice, however, to the rights of their wives, children and legitimate creditors.

The King, between whom and the Assembly there was already a certain coldness, sanctioned the decree concerning his brother, but opposed his *veto* to that of the nobles. To palliate the latter proceeding he issued a second manifesto to the *émigrés*, inviting them to return; and, by pointing out that he had refused to sanction the decree concerning them, he showed that he was free indeed. It was all in vain; the *émigrés* continued their gatherings, from which the people, rightly or wrongly, concluded that in secret the King was making common cause with the enemies of the Revolution. "In refusing to pass the decree with regard to the *émigrés*, said Camille Desmoulins, "the King virtually sanctions their criminal projects. . . . Before long the nation will find herself between the necessity of being massacred or of disobeying, between servitude and insurrection. The pretended sincerity of the King is simply derision."

Irritated beyond measure at the royal *veto*, but

determined to persevere and to guard, if possible, against civil war, the Assembly vented its irritation upon the still refractory clergy by extra legal measures. Undeterred by any religious considerations—for, as the priests said, "their God was the law; they knew no other" —the Assembly decreed on the 29th of November, that those priests who refused to take the civil oath should be deprived of their pensions given them as an indemnity for the sale of their property; they could no longer exercise their functions, even in private; they were suspected as rebels, and placed under the surveillance of the authorities. If troubles broke out in a district where a refractory priest dwelt, he could be expelled from his residence at the will of the departmental authorities, who were ordered to forward immediately the list of the rebellious priests in their vicinity.

This really savoured of persecution. The whole Constitutional party rose up against it; and even the municipality of Paris prayed the King to oppose the cruel measure, which he did by refusing his sanction, saying, "I would rather lose my life than allow such a decree to pass."

That the King was perfectly right in this, posterity has unanimously agreed. He was justified in opposing principles which violated the Constitution; but the people did not see it in this light. They cared for the Revolution more than for anything else; they continually mistrusted the King's prerogative, and from that moment every link was broken between them and their sovereign. His two *vetos* on the *émigrés* may be

said to have led to the internecine and foreign wars which followed. To obtain the confidence of the people, one had to be as Revolutionary as they were; and that Louis could or would not be. Whatever had been granted by him had been wrung by the force of public opinion, mixed with the fear of seeing his dynasty overthrown. He was willing to be reconciled to his present position; but what the people wanted was not resignation, but enthusiasm and passion. They fretted at seeing so much power left in the hands of one whom they regarded, especially after the flight to Varennes, as their natural enemy; they regretted even the little authority that had been left to the King by the nation, such as the *veto*, and they grudged him his civil list, and his right of proclaiming for or against war.

This new quarrel of Louis with his Assembly and people brought once more the threatened hostile projects of the foreign sovereigns into pre-eminence. The French ambassadors were insulted, French travellers ill-treated and persecuted; Austria, Prussia, and Piedmont placed their armies on a war footing; Russia and Spain assumed menacing attitudes; the King of Sweden, the chivalrous defender and admirer of Marie Antoinette, proud of his recent victory over his nobles, offered to head this crusade of Kings against the French Revolution. In vain did Louis endeavour to appease the alarm and mistrust of the patriots by signifying (20th December) to the Electors of Trèves and Mayence, that if they did not prevent the assembling of the *émigrés* in their territories they would be considered the enemies of France;

in vain did he beg the Emperor to interpose his authority with these two princes. Finally he informed the Assembly that in case these Electors should not comply with his demands there was no other measure left than to declare war. The *émigrés* did not disperse; on the contrary, the Diet of Ratisbon demanded the reinstatement of the German princes having property in Alsace; and the Emperor declared that if the Electors were attacked he would support them. Upon this Louis sent a message to the Assembly that if the *émigrés* were not dispersed by the 15th of January, 1792, he would employ armed force. The resolution was received with enthusiastic applause, and a decree was issued against the brothers of the King and the Prince of Condé; finally, the Count of Provence was deprived of his right to the regency. Three armies were formed under the commands of Luckner, Lafayette, and Rochambeau, the only three generals left in the kingdom. Rochambeau had forty-eight thousand men posted from Dunkirk to Philippeville, Lafayette fifty-two thousand from Philippeville to Lauterbourg, Luckner forty-two thousand from Lauterbourg to Bâle. A fourth army under Montesquiou watched the Alps. But the troops were disorganised and undisciplined, the officers ill-disposed, the fortresses without ordnance, and the arsenals empty. Sustained, however, by a great enthusiasm, and amidst a greater confusion, everything was got in readiness. The war became the universal thought and rallying cry. The Feuillants were seeing in it a restoration

of the influence of the Government, the Girondins trusted in it as a solution of the Revolutionary problem. The members of the Mountain were the only dissentients, because uneasy at the internecine troubles, they mistrusted a war proposed by Louis, carried out under the auspices of the Constitutional party, and directed by Lafayette.

Nevertheless the King, being the avowed object of all these disturbances, did not succeed in regaining popular confidence. His demonstrations of goodwill to the nation and the hastening of the preparations were looked upon as so many insidious blinds. His two *vetos* left the Revolution without revenge and defence against its enemies. His ministers were accused of intriguing and maintaining a correspondence with the foreigner. Only one had the goodwill of the Assembly: young Narbonne, who had lately been appointed to the War Ministry, through the influence of the Feuillants. He did his best to reorganise the army, but the King did not like him; for notwithstanding his plausible assurances, he felt a secret aversion to this war, in which he was controlled too much by the Constitutionalists or by their representative, the active and energetic young War Minister. Nor could the Assembly leave the direction of affairs to a government suspected of treason. The Girondins would have willingly occupied all the ministerial offices, to watch, influence, and sway the King, and legally to save the Revolution. They violently opposed Bertrand de Molleville, Minister of Marine, and Delessart, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had, it is said, brought about this

foreign coalition in order to frighten France, and who were always obstructing Narbonne, their favourite. It ended in the War Minister being asked to resign. The Girondins openly accused Molleville and Delessart of conspiracy and treason. The first was the confidential adviser of the Queen, and had been more than once suspected of wishing to accomplish the counter-Revolution in the interior by throwing obstacles in the way of the Constitution, so as to render its working impracticable. The Assembly passed a vote of want of confidence in him. The second was accused of being in correspondence with the *émigrés*, and was brought before the High Tribunal of Orleans, recently instituted for trying cases of high treason against the nation. Frightened or warned by this example, the other ministers tendered their resignation.

If the Girondins' intentions were intimidation, they succeeded by this last manœuvre. The King, frightened at the rancour of the Assembly against his council, but especially at the act of accusation against Delessart, had no resource left but to choose his ministry from the victorious party (24th March). The clever engineer-officer, Servan, was appointed Minister of War; the Finances was given to Clavière, a Genevese, like Necker; the Interior to Roland de la Platière, of Lyons (born 1732), a man of austere and honest principles, swayed by his wife (born 1754), a brilliant and talented woman, who, it is said, had a greater hand in the Government than her husband. The other ministers were Duranthon, Lacoste, and last, not least, General Dumouriez (born

1739), who was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. Endowed with political and military genius, a vast ambition, talents of a first-rate order, Dumouriez was now, at the age of fifty, little more than an adventurer, passing his life in a series of political intrigues. Detested by the Feuillants, allied to the Gironde, loved by the Jacobins, he promised to be the mainstay of the new Ministry, and began by taking Louis' affections by storm through the firmness of his character, his boldness, his deliberate way of acting, and his infinite resources; in fact, by persuading the King that he sought popularity merely to save the throne.

That with such a ministry war became inevitable need hardly be said. French diplomacy from the lips of Dumouriez took a far different tone than it had done in the mouth of Delessart. It was firm, to the purpose, and not to be misunderstood. Austria had sent forty thousand troops into the Netherlands, and twenty thousand on the Rhine. She had signed a treaty with Prussia, avowedly to put an end to the troubles in France. Leopold would probably not have acted so rashly; but he had just been succeeded by his nephew Francis, who, while awaiting his election to the empire, had taken the title of King of Hungary and Bohemia. In reply to Dumouriez's remonstrances, this young monarch, eager for war, demanded the restoration of the French monarchy on the basis of the declaration of the 23rd of June, the re-establishment of the privileged orders, the restitution of the clergy's property. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, and the whole of France

rang with indignation. The King, accompanied by all his ministers, went to the Assembly, where Dumouriez gave a succinct and lucid statement of the cause, the progress, and the result of his negotiations, terminating it by proposing "war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary according to the terms of the Constitution" (20th April). This proposal was welcomed with deafening shouts of "Long live the King," after which war was declared. Thus was inaugurated a struggle of twenty-five years' duration, perhaps the most sanguinary on record.

The threats of the other Powers notwithstanding, they were well content to let Austria take the initiative. Prussia and Piedmont prepared their armaments, but Russia and Spain remained motionless. As for the King of Sweden, so ardent and resolute, he had just been assassinated by Ankarström.

One would think that with such danger threatening the country, a single thought, to the exclusion of all others, would animate the French. While the frontiers were actually threatened with invasion, the Parisians were employed in discussing and organising *fêtes,* in honour of the soldiers sent to the galleys in consequence of the revolt at Nancy. They had been liberated, and on the 15th of April entered Paris on triumphal cars, escorted by the mob, the National Guards having doffed their arms for the day, young girls in white strewing flowers along their path, and carrying their chains. Nor was the Court wiser. The first time that Roland presented himself at the

Tuileries, with ribbands in his shoes and wearing a round hat, the master of the ceremonies refused to admit him. But being obliged to grant him admittance, this functionary addressed himself to Dumouriez, who was standing near; and, pointing to Roland, exclaimed, "Eh! sir, no buckles to his shoes." "Ah! indeed," answered Dumouriez ironically, "then everything is lost."

Then, as now, a defeat was not attributed to lack of strength or want of foresight, but to treason. France had astonished Europe by her declaration of war, she resolved to surprise her still further by a master-stroke of quickness. Dumouriez conceived the plan of conquering Belgium, ever chafing under Austrian rule. According to his instructions, three columns, under Rochambeau, were to march on Furnes, Tournay, and Mons, while Lafayette directed his troops upon Namur. The column marching on Tournay, 4,000 men strong, and commanded by Dillon, took to its heels the moment it saw the enemy, shouting "we are betrayed!" It left behind its cannons, murdered its general, and made its way back to Lille. A second column of 10,000 men, marching on Mons, and commanded by Biron, behaved scarcely better. It engaged the Austrians, a little more than half its strength, but the first shots had hardly been exchanged when, with the cry, "we are betrayed!" it followed the example of its comrades. At the tidings of these routs, the troops marching on Furnes, and the army of Lafayette, thought it better to arrest their march.

Though it was never proved that treason had existed, these checks were joyfully received by the *émigrés*, who already saw, in perspective, the realisation of their fondest hopes. What might have been the result, had the Austrians followed up their advantage, it is difficult to say, but they preferred to remain inactive, awaiting the promised support of the Prussians. Meanwhile discipline went on increasing among the French. Rochambeau resigned, so that the three armies formed now but two, that of the north, under Lafayette, extending from Dunkirk to the Moselle; that of the east, under Luckner, from the Moselle to the Jura. The latter general, at best but a dashing officer of hussars, displayed great ignorance, if not neglect; while Lafayette was more uneasy at the internal troubles than at the presence of the enemy, so that the first three months were wasted in mere unimportant skirmishes.

The defeats at Tournay and Mons threw the whole of France in consternation, and increased the popular mistrust. The Jacobins, who saw their fears verified, became more violent day by day; Marat (born 1744), who for the last three years had never ceased to ask for "five or six hundred heads, to insure the happiness and peace of France;" who was proscribed, but who still defied public authority, renewed his atrocious counsels. "The first thing the army should do," he said, "is to massacre its generals." These counsels, far from being rejected with disgust, were eagerly taken up by the people, who saw treason in every movement, and who were

incessantly egged on by the newspapers, some of which now openly commenced to preach the same doctrine of massacre. The people, no longer satisfied to govern through the Legislative Assembly and the National Guard, wanted to govern themselves. Instigated by the Jacobins, they began to organise troops armed with pikes, a proceeding not only sanctioned by Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, but regulated and encouraged by him. His red woollen nightcap became the cap of liberty worn by every patriot who glorified in the epithet of *Sans-culotte*, which the Royalists had applied to them.

Once more the Assembly found itself compelled to violent measures in order to save the Revolution. It declared itself permanent, and decreed: 1°. That the departmental directories or boards of management should be authorised to pronounce sentence of transportation on refractory priests, on the simple denunciation of twenty citizens (20th May). 2°. That the Constitutional Guard of the King[1] should be disbanded to be entirely re-composed, and that its chief, Brissac, should be sent for judgment to the High Court at Orleans (29th May). 3°. That on the occasion of the annual *fête* of the 14th of July, there should be formed in Paris a camp of 20,000 provincial Federates to protect the capital against foreign invasion. This last measure had been proposed by Servan, without acquainting his fellow-ministers with his plan, and was

[1] The *Garde Constitutionnelle* was destined to replace the *Gardes-du-corps*. It had been created by a decree of the National Assembly, September 30th, 1791.

meant to give the Girondins an army of their own to protect them against royalty and the National Guard. Well might the Queen exclaim, "An army of 20,000 brigands to govern Paris!"

The King, between whom and his ministers, Dumouriez excepted, there was a certain coolness, delayed his answer to these decrees for several days; when Roland, tired of waiting, determined to write him the letter—famous in history since—upon his Constitutional duties. This letter, which angered Louis greatly, ended his relations with the Girondins, without, however, inducing him to sanction the decrees. He consented to have his guard disbanded, but refused to organise another. As for the decrees on the priests, and the formation of a Federate camp, he would not hear of them, and was the more resolute, as with respect to the latter he was upheld by the National Guard, who had petitioned against it.

Once more Louis was obliged to dismiss his ministers Roland, Clavière, and Servan; Dumouriez remained, supported by Lacoste and Duranthon, with whom he had come to an understanding against the three others. In abandoning his party, Dumouriez, no doubt, meant well, though swayed by an inordinate ambition, but even he found that he could not stay. Having counselled the King to accept the decrees, in order to make himself popular, Louis once more flatly refused, upon which Dumouriez, despairing to effect anything salutary, resigned and departed for the army.

The King, not knowing what to do, was rapidly drifting into a state of hopeless dejection, from which the Queen had to drag him by her own energetic advice, and by telling him that "if they had to perish, it were better to do so honourably, without waiting to be murdered in their beds." Somewhat stirred by this appeal, he called to the Ministry some unknown and mediocre individuals belonging to the Feuillants, who, though devoted to the King and the Constitution, were far from comprehending the tenor of the Revolution, or the dangers from the exterior which threatened France. According to the showing of one of them, General Lajard, their opinions were so well known, and so slightly valued, that at their first appearance in the Assembly they met with a very unfavourable reception, the populace insulted them, and several deputies made use of the most offensive terms. It may be taken for granted that from this moment Louis saw no longer any means of saving either himself or his dynasty by constitutional means. He sent Mallet-Dupan with secret instructions to the Austrians and *émigrés*, and counselled them to precede their invasion by publishing a manifesto, stating that they were not making war upon a nation, but upon a faction, that they would impose laws upon no one; but that they would hold the Assembly and all the authorities responsible for every attempt upon the King. Thus, whilst he alternately turned, now to the Legislative Assembly, and now to Austria and Coblentz, and trusted generally to the "chapter of accidents," the monarchy was veering

backward and forward, and drifting farther away from all conciliation.

The dismissal of the Girondin Ministry was hailed with the greatest ferment by the people and by the Jacobins, who proclaimed it to be the signal for the counter-Revolution, and influenced the Assembly to declare that the three retiring ministers carried with them the regret of the nation. Roland's letter was printed and sent to the eighty-three departments; the Jacobins and Girondins sought to regain their power by intimidating the King through the multitude. In this emergency the Feuillants came once more to the rescue by rallying round them every shade of Constitutional opinion, in order to save the throne. Unfortunately they wanted unity, and the leading spirit which distinguished their adversaries; the Court mistrusted them, the National Guard was disorganised, and fatigued of all these contentions. Lafayette was their head and soul, his army seemed their sole resource. Him only the Girondins and Mountain party feared, watched, and hated, accusing him in turns of wanting to become either a Monk or a Cromwell. But though he was courageous, loyal, honest, and well-meaning, he lacked political wisdom, and was too fond of applause openly to enter the arena against the popular passions. Still he did not hesitate, in a letter to the Assembly, to declare war against the Jacobins, accusing them of fomenting popular strife, and demanding that their clubs should be closed, so that the task of regenerating the kingdom might progress without fear of intimidation.

This letter lost him his last vestige of popularity; henceforth the masses looked upon him as a declared enemy of freedom. It is ever so in times of Revolution; moderation is branded as perfidy and treason. The safety of the King was the aim of the Feuillants as well as of the *émigrés*, and, therefore, the former were held in the same odium as the latter. The Feuillants occupied an untenable position in the Revolution, the *émigrés* confounded them with the Jacobins, the people with the *émigrés;* they wanted to save the throne; the Court would not trust them; they wanted to keep the Constitution intact; the people looked upon them as traitors. They became the victims of the Jacobins; but if the counter-Revolution had triumphed, they would have become the victims of the *émigrés*.

Lafayette's letter was the spark that set the insurrectionary mine ablaze. It decided the Jacobins to obtain the sanction of the decrees, and the recall of the patriot ministers, by means of revolt. In reality the people had no chiefs, but its revolutionary instincts led them to accept individuals who were but too ready to pander to its passions. A brewer, Santerre; a butcher, Legendre; a working goldsmith, Rossignol; and such-like, were its avowed chiefs. They were in communication with the heads of the popular party in the clubs, the Assembly, the municipality, with Robespierre, Chabot, Pétion, and many more. By their counsels they determined the mob to march in arms upon the Assembly and the Tuileries (June 20th),

under the pretext of presenting petitions, and to celebrate the anniversary of the oath taken in the Tennis-court at Versailles three years ago. The municipality refused to give its sanction; but Pétion declared that nothing would prevent the suburbs from marching, adding, as an encouragement to the populace, "The National Guard will not receive any orders, and your friend Pétion will be there." All that the remonstrances of the departmental authorities could wring from him was, that he would "order the general commanding the troops to double the posts, and to consign to their barracks the six battalions of the suburbs;" but said he, paving the way for the disturbances, "the conduct of the executive is such that I should not be at all surprised if public indignation led to mischief." In fact, the battalions of the said suburbs, defying the orders of the municipality, headed with their artillery the crowd, armed with pikes, defiled along the Rue St. Honoré, and halted in front of the Riding-Hall, where their arrival terrified the Assembly. Roederer, the *procureur-syndic*, or chief magistrate, of the department came to ask that the law against seditious and armed gatherings should be put in force; but Vergniaud (born 1758), a popular leader of the Gironde, exclaimed: "We must not renew the slaughter of the Champ-de-Mars." As the Assembly had already allowed more than once armed petitioners at its bar, they again permitted them to invade the sanctity of its debates. Their spokesman, having delivered his speech, breathing wholesale murder in case of non-compliance

with the people's wishes, the procession, consisting of thirty thousand of the lowest classes, with women and children in their midst, carrying tattered breeches instead of flags, and nearly all armed with some weapon, was allowed to defile before the assembled deputies.

The mob, on leaving the Riding-Hall, took its way by the Terrace of the Feuillants,[1] and the doors of the gardens being closed and watched, it should have returned whence it came, by the court of the Riding-Hall, instead of which it forced one of the outer gates, and defiled along the front of the Tuileries, where ten battalions of National Guards were ranged. Fourteen more battalions were in the building itself, in the courts and the Place du Carrousel. The mob went out by the door of the Pont Royal, followed the embankment, and crowded against the doors of the royal palace. The National Guard refused it admittance, but the municipal officers had the doors opened, and the crowd, invading the Place du Carrousel, entered. The National Guard continued to resist, and a dreadful slaughter would no doubt have ensued, had not Santerre at that moment arrived with cannon, at the sight of which two municipal officers ordered the gates to be unlocked. Then the mob rushed into the court-yard, entered the palace, and crowded

[1] The Riding-Hall and the Convent of the Feuillants were situated on the present site of the Rues de Rivoli and Castiglione. They had their principal entrances by the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Place Vendôme; the space now occupied by the Rue de Rivoli, as far as the Tuileries, was taken up by the Riding-Hall court, having an entry near the Rue du Dauphin, being enclosed on the side of the terrace by a wall replaced at present by a railing.

up the grand staircase carrying a piece of artillery. Says an eye-witness, "No obstacle or resistance whatsoever, neither at the entry of the castle nor at the apartments; not a man there to defend them, not a National Guard at his post, not a door barricaded."

The King was in his private cabinet, surrounded only by his ministers, a few of the officers of the National Guard, and some trusty servants, who begged him to show himself to the people, which he did unhesitatingly. The door was being battered by hatchets; but at the moment when the panel was about to fall, the King had it opened, and suddenly appeared before the surging mob. He simply said, "Here I am." His servants had to push him into the embrasure of a window, where they placed him on a chair on a table, so that he might not be trodden down by the mass. In this embrasure he was protected by some National Guards. "Down with the *veto*," was the furious cry; "recall the ministers. We want the decree on the priests, and on the camp." After which, in an interval of silence, butcher Legendre (born 1755), in a most insulting speech, offered a kind of petition on these two decrees. In justice to Louis, be it said, he did not falter for a moment, nor budge an inch face to face with this murderous crowd. He told them that he would do all the Constitution permitted him to do; he put on his head a red cap tendered to him on a pike, he drank some wine from a glass offered to him by an intoxicated workman, but not for an instant did he lose his presence of mind, or the dignity the occasion required.

Meanwhile the mass became every moment denser, attracted as much by curiosity as anything else, and ignorant of the great offence it committed by invading the private domicile of the King. The National Guard stood by motionless, mingled among the people, and for two hours there seemed to be no probable end to this confusion, notwithstanding the successive deputations of the Assembly, who could not succeed in making themselves heard, when Pétion, the mayor, arrived. His speech reminds us of Jacob's address to Esau, when after many years he met the brother whom he had wronged. "Citizens," he exclaimed, "you have signified your will to the hereditary representative, it behoves you to go no further. The King will reflect calmly upon what he had better do. Return to your homes. By staying longer you will give the enemies of the public weal cause to impugn your respectable intentions. Go now, you have acted with a pride and dignity becoming a free people." The doors being opened, the crowd marched off excitedly but good-naturedly through a double hedge of National Guards, lining the adjoining apartments where the Queen had posted herself with her children to divert the popular curiosity, and whom they saluted with respect. The King, surrounded by some of the deputies and grenadiers, effected his retreat by a private door, and at ten o'clock at night the mob had scarcely evacuated the palace.

The Girondins had certainly overshot their mark. A reaction set in against them, threatening to become fatal. The entire Constitutional party, more than half

of the National Guard, and seventy-six departmental boards, protested against the invasion of the royal palace by the mob, on the 20th of June. Paris presented a sympathetic address to the King signed by more than 20,000 citizens. The municipality ordered the ringleaders and instigators of the revolt to be prosecuted, and severe measures to be instituted against Pétion, who had openly favoured it. Lafayette having left his army in charge of some other general, came to the bar of the Assembly to demand reparation in the name of the army. He hardly escaped being placed under arrest for having left his post without orders. Nor did he fare better when presenting himself at the Tuileries. He was insulted by the courtiers, coolly received by the King, and the Queen expressly forbade any one to give him the slightest support. His efforts at rallying round him the National Guard, in order to march upon the Jacobins and make them prisoners, proved equally fruitless. About thirty came to the place of meeting. He returned full of grief, but not utterly discouraged, to the army, whence he continued to offer his services to the King, in concert with Luckner, whose pusillanimity he had succeeded in conquering. But all his offers were rejected. "The best counsel I can give M. de Lafayette," answered the King, "is to serve as a scarecrow to the factions in following his profession as a general." The Court party, in fact, had abandoned all hope from the interior. It did not even bestir itself to send supplies or reinforcements to the troops of Lafayette, who were simply acting on the defensive, their chief being

occupied with the Jacobins, whilst on the contrary, the enemy was collecting 80,000 men at Coblentz, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. The Queen was openly heard to say that in a month she should be free.

The reaction against the Jacobins proved abortive through the threatened danger of foreign invasion. The extreme partisans of the Revolution were the only ones willing to avert the peril by violent measures; and, supported by the people, were aware of the double-handed game the Government was playing, by remaining virtually inactive, while secretly encouraging the country's enemies out of France. The Constitution was a dead letter, its forms existed, but the Assembly, sharing the terror of the people, could think of but one thing, to take precautionary measures against the treachery of the Court. The Ministry having proposed a levy of forty-two battalions of volunteers, which should form a reserve-camp at Soissons, the Assembly decreed that those battalions which had to pass through Paris should take part in the Feast of the Federation on the 14th of July. It was the camp of twenty thousand over again under another name. The King, nevertheless, assented. The National Guard being also suspected, it was decided that the staff in the great towns should be dissolved and re-elected. The situation was terrible indeed. The country was declared to be in danger (3rd July). And truly in danger the country was, as much from her own children as from strangers. The doors of the theatres were closed; in their stead, in wooden

booths erected in the public squares, there were given performances of pieces such as *The Enlistment of Arlequin,* and others like it. A French Tyrtæus was seen at the corner of every street with his fiddle, the crowd dancing whilst he was singing:

> The country is in danger,
> Maidens, beware;

then he called out the name of one of the figures of the quadrille, "The Ladies' Chain." Immediately afterwards he sang again—

> The country is in danger,
> Our lads for war prepare,
> Think not the treacherous stranger
> Comes here soft speech to bear;
> He brings not love or laughter,
> But hate, revenge, and slaughter!

Then he cried: "Gentlemen, advance. The country is in danger." And thus Paris prepared to go to war.

On the occasion of the formal declaration in the Assembly of the country being in danger, Vergniaud, in the name of the Girondins and Mountain, threw off the mask that had now become useless, openly accused the King of being the cause of all these troubles, and almost asked for his deposition.

This diatribe and concomitant denunciations meeting with the approbation of the Assembly, increased the popular alarm. The Paris municipality suspended Pétion from his functions in consequence of his complicity in the riot of the 20th of June. Added to this, the ministers, under the pretext of being unable to make headway in

the then disorganised state of the country and the army, tendered their resignation. Their real and secret purpose, as they themselves avowed in a letter to the King, was to show to the nation that the Assembly was determined to destroy every attempt at orderly government; but their resignation was not accepted.

On the 11th of July appeared the official decree, declaring the country to be in danger, and at the same time organising a levy of fifty thousand volunteers in the National Guard. This decree was proclaimed in every parish with imposing ceremony. In the capital the National Guard was under arms, the cannon boomed at short intervals, and platforms were erected in the principal squares. On a table supported on drums and decorated with tricolour flags, the municipality were enlisting the volunteers, amidst the sound of music and the plaudits of the people. Paris alone in less than three weeks contributed in this way thirty-four battalions of from five to six hundred men each, but the administration proved so defective and dilatory, that it was not until the beginning of September that they started for the seat of war.

Amidst all this there was still a lack of singleness of purpose. The patriotic enthusiasm might be at boiling-point; it might even diminish the disorder among the masses, but their hatred of the King remained the same, and everything savouring of Constitutional moderation was thrown to the winds. The prosecution of Lafayette, the reinstatement of Pétion, were eagerly clamoured for; a large number of petitions demanded

the deposition of the King, based on the argument that it was not right for him to direct a war of which he was the sole object. Five or six thousand volunteers from Marseilles, very brave, and excited in the highest degree, arrived in Paris on their way to the camp of reserve. They refused to stir unless the enemies of the State were put down, adding, "that if the nation could not be saved by its representatives, it should be done through itself." The Assembly, egged on and ruled by the Jacobins, complied with these violent demands, reinstated Pétion, and went even so far as to propose a committee to examine whether in reality the King were guilty of acts that might justify his deposition.

Everything heralded a revolution which the Girondins were attempting to accomplish by means of the Assembly and a change of ministry, but as both the latter were determined not to outstep the legal grooves, the Mountain resolved that an insurrection should be the alternative. So little did they keep their intentions secret, that the very day and hour were named for the outburst. Its plan was traced by five chiefs of the Federal troops, to whom were added the journalist Carra, the non-commissioned officer Westermann, Santerre, Camille Desmoulins, Danton, and others. Danton seemed destined by nature for a popular chief; he had all the virtues and all the vices of the people, he had passed through all their stages of misery, and was imbued with all their fitful gusts of spontaneous generosity. The co-operation of the Paris communal troops was promised by Pétion and by their general. The nucleus of the

insurrectionary band was to be the Federal troops, the battalion of the volunteers from Marseilles to form the van. This contingent had already made itself on its way to Paris a terrible reputation by its southern ardour and sanguinary dash, also by the singing of a patriotic song, in reality belonging to the army of the Rhine, where it had been composed by Rouget-Delisle, an engineer officer in garrison at Huningen, but which, under the name of *Marseillaise*, "will make the blood tingle in men's veins, and whole Armies and Assemblages will sing it, with eyes weeping and burning, with hearts defiant of Death, Despot, and Devil."[1]

To add fuel to the fire, the Duke of Brunswick, entering on the campaign, issued a manifesto, in which, after having dictated to France what she should do, he threatened her with the most terrible punishments, adding, that Paris would be given over to military execution and total pillage in case of non-compliance.

This high-handed language rendered the people ferocious. "There was but one desire, one cry for vengeance resounding from one end of France to the other, and whosoever did not join in it would have been looked upon as guilty of sacrilege towards the country and the sacred cause of independence."[2] In vain did the King disclaim any participation in the ducal document—his instructions had, in truth, been exceeded by his agent Mallet-Dupan—no one believed him, and neither he nor his ministers took any measures against the invasion.

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. ii., book vi., chap. ii.
[2] Mignet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, chap. v.

His deposition was unanimously demanded by all (48) the sections, or sub-districts of Paris (3rd of August), which demand was conveyed to the Assembly by Pétion, who openly accused Louis XVI. of treason, asking at the same time for a National Convention. The debate on this question was adjourned for six days.

Apparently undismayed, the Court preserved its equanimity, the King rejecting the offers of assistance coming from all sides, even from the Girondins, who only desired a Republic because they despaired of the Monarchy. Lafayette, supported by many staunch Royalists, was preparing for the King's flight to some town, where, in case of reverses, the sea would be close at hand. To this proposal Louis would have acceded, had not the Queen refused to place herself in the hands of one who had treated them all so badly. "We may as well perish here," she said. "Whatever danger may threaten the King and myself, we shall remain in Paris; it is the advice of the Duke of Brunswick. His plan, which he has communicated to us, is to come and deliver us in these very walls."

The insurrection works no longer in the dark, it prepares itself openly, and by placards threatens with vengeance whosoever shall oppose it. On the 5th of August, when all is pretty well ready, the section of the *Quinze-Vingts*, which has been first and foremost all the while, is about to march, but delays on the advice of Pétion. It gives, however, the Assembly to understand, that, if by the 9th the deposition of the King is not proclaimed, if justice and right are not granted to the people, the people will come and take

them, to the sound of alarm-bell and drum, and amidst a general uprising. This intimation is approved of by forty-six sections, one, the Section *Mauconseil*, going a step further still by proclaiming the King's deposition. Roederer, whom we have seen before on the day the mob invaded the Tuileries, comes to inform the Assembly what the sections have decided. Hereupon it annuls the decree of the Section *Mauconseil;* but, in reply to this, the municipality declares its sittings permanent. At the same time the Jacobins compel the Assembly to indict Lafayette, but with a last effort at independence the motion is thrown out by a majority of nearly two hundred votes (8th August). This becomes the signal for insurrection, the people turns its fury against the Constitutional deputies, whom it threatens to kill. The deputies declare that, being intimidated by the populace, the Assembly can be considered as no longer free in its discussions, and that as such, they will no longer take part in the sittings. In vain does the Right demand the removal of the Federate troops; the Minister of Justice informs them that the laws are powerless, and that, without the prompt succour of the Legislative, the Government declines all further responsibility: which announcement is met by the Jacobins exclaiming, "The Assembly can no longer be reckoned upon to support the Revolution. No more addresses, no more petitions; henceforth the people must depend upon its arms and cannon, and make its own laws."

By the evening of the next day (9th of August)

the Federate troops are in arms, the sections crowded with insurgents, who appoint commissioners to replace the general council, and to devise means to save the country. Those commissioners, to the number of eighty, make their way separately and unarmed to the Hôtel de Ville, where they install themselves in an apartment adjacent to the council-room of the municipality, and at a preconcerted signal show themselves, exhibit their authority, and quietly take possession of the vacated seats of the deposed members. It is a *coup de théâtre* unique in its way. Three separate corps of armed men are also formed, the first in the Faubourg St. Marceau, the second in the Faubourg St. Antoine, under Santerre and Westermann; the third at the Cordeliers: the latter headed by the troops from Marseilles. At midnight Danton gives the signal, the alarm-bell rings, the drums beat. "To arms, to arms," resounds everywhere; the National Guards assemble undecided, the insurgent columns march with flags bearing the inscription, "The sovereign people's martial law against the rebellion of the executive."

Meanwhile the Court, a prey to consternation, was confusedly collecting its means of defence. Between eight and nine hundred Swiss, two thousand four hundred National Guards, out of which only two battallions can be depended upon, a corps of gendarmerie composed of old *Gardes Françaises*; last of all some five or six hundred noblemen, scarcely provided with arms, and not looked upon favourably by the National Guard, are all that can be brought together. Pétion, Roederer,

and the commissioners of the sections of Paris arrive at the Tuileries, where the first with unparalleled duplicity signs an order to repulse force by force, the execution of it being left to Mandat, Commander-general for the month, who, though the mayor had refused him powder and shot the day before, takes the best possible precautions. His defences would have been sufficient to disperse the insurgent mob of the suburbs, had his troops been trustworthy, and had he remained present to direct them. But a summons to repair to the Hôtel de Ville called him away. Mandat thinks that he is obeying the old municipality, but finds himself in the presence of the insurgent Commune, who show him a copy of the order he had given to the troops to attack in the rear the popular masses marching upon the Tuileries. He is sent to prison; but the news of his supposed treason having got wind, he is massacred on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville; Santerre (born 1752) is appointed in his stead, and the Court finds itself deprived of its most resolute and influential defender. If Mandat had been alive, and if the order he had received to employ force in case of need had been executed, the hesitation of the National Guard might have been overcome; though the sight of the nobles and Royalists had cooled the latter's ardour much. Even before he departed on his fatal errand Mandat had fruitlessly implored the Queen to send them away, because the Constitutionalists regarded them as a troop of aristocrats.

Towards four in the morning the Queen sent for Roederer, who had passed the night in the palace, and

asked him what to do under the circumstances. Roederer answered that he thought it necessary that the King and the royal family should at once place themselves under the protection of the Assembly, some members of which had arrived in hot haste, and were now sitting presided over by Vergniaud. "You propose," said a royalist, "to take the King to his enemies?" Roederer, pointing out that the majority had the previous day voted for Lafayette, the Queen cut the discussion short by a positive wish to know, once for all, who should gain the upper hand, the King and the Constitution, or the insurgents. "In that case," answered Roederer, "we had better see what measures have been taken for resistance." Laschenaye, who commanded in Mandat's absence, is called; he complains frankly that the courtiers in black are doing more harm than good among the National Guards, to whom they are an eyesore. Whereupon the Queen replies that these are sure men; thereby insinuating that the others are not. All that the Court can do is to send two Ministers to the Assembly to make known its danger, and to ask for commissioners and assistance.

The defenders of the palace were divided among themselves, when, a little after dawn, the King took it into his head to go down and review them himself. He had already examined the inner posts, found them well disposed, and descended to the outer courts, where his appearance was hailed with shouts of, "Long live the King," to which the gunners of the battalion of the *Croix-Rouge* replied by, "Long live the Nation." At

the same time some other battalions arrived, who took up the last cry. Alarmed by this, the King went back to his apartments, whilst the new-comers pointed their cannon against the Tuileries. While this was passing inside, the insurgents had already blocked all the approaches on the outside.

The two Ministers deputed to the Assembly came back saying that there was not a sufficient number of members to deliberate, there being scarcely seventy or eighty present, and that their proposal had not even been listened to. Roederer, upon this, made a last appeal to the insurgents, pointing out to them that they were in too great a number to be admitted either in the presence of the King or the Assembly, and inviting them to depute twenty from among them to prefer their requests. He was hooted down. Addressing the National Guard, and reminding them that in case of violence, it was their duty to repulse force by force, the gunners in reply discharged their cannon in the air. There was nothing for it but to return to the King and Queen.

They were holding a council with the Ministers. A municipal officer had just given the alarm by informing them that the insurgents were increasing every moment. "What do they want?" asked Joly, Keeper of the Seal. "The deposition of the King," answered the officer. "Let the Assembly pronounce it," retorted the Minister, drily. "But after deposition, what next?" added the Queen. The officer bowed, without saying a word. Roederer entered, and increased the terror by announcing

that the insurgents were unmanageable, and the National Guard not to be depended on. He addressed the King. "You have not five minutes to lose. Your only safety is with the Assembly." Louis, as usual, wanted to temporise, and sat irresolute during at least three minutes out of the five, whilst the Queen and the King's sister impressed upon Roederer that he was responsible for the Monarch's life. "Let us go," says Louis, and he and his family, accompanied by his Ministers, crossed the apartments and gardens and left the Tuileries—for ever.

Onward by the terrace of the Feuillants, through a double line of National Guards, amidst the hootings and insults of the mob, on to the Assembly-hall, where he arrived amidst profound silence, just as the clock had struck eight. "I have come," said the King, "to prevent a great crime, and I think, gentlemen, that I could be in no place of greater safety than in your midst." He and his family retired to the reporters' gallery behind the President's chair, while the Assembly decreed that twenty of its members should go and endeavour to calm the people. Scarcely were they gone when a terrible firing was heard. "I have ordered the Swiss not to fire," said the King. But the volleys grow louder; the Assembly sits terror-stricken; the twenty deputies rush into the hall, driven back by the defenders of the palace, who seem to get the upper hand. "We are no longer free!" shouts a voice. "This is our post!" is heard on all sides; "this is our post, and we must die at it!" And under the excitement of the terrible massacre going on at their doors, the Assembly

rises as one man, and before the unfortunate descendant of Hugues Capet himself, exclaims, "Long live the Nation and Liberty," while from the outside the shouts of victory proclaim the Monarchy at an end.

The vanguard of the insurrection, conducted by Westermann and the Federates, had reached the Tuileries; it stove in the principal entrance, and rushed into the outer court, where the gunners joined it, turning their pieces towards the building. "Surrender the Tuileries, and we will be friends," are the cries with which the Swiss, appearing at the windows, are greeted. Upon which the Swiss, throwing down their cartridges, respond, "Long live the Nation!" The mob penetrates to the vestibule and grand staircase, when suddenly a cannon-shot rends the air. The Swiss imagine themselves attacked, and make a terrible charge upon the invaders, who are literally thrown from the stairs into the court, where their victors follow them, while the National Guards deliver a rapid musketry fire from the upper landing and windows. In an instant the court-yard is swept clean. The panic spreads to the Place du Carrousel, and the insurgents fly on all sides, crying, "We are betrayed!" leaving the ground strewn with killed and wounded. The defenders of the palace already make sure of their victory, and are about to threaten the Assembly, when the main body of the insurgents, issuing from the quays and the Louvre, repulses the Swiss, and follows them into the court-yard; whilst two other columns make themselves masters of the terraces at the water's edge and of the

Feuillants, and begin to attack the palace in the rear. The Swiss mass themselves on the grand staircase, where for full twenty minutes they repulse the terrible onslaught of the assailants. A fire is opened against the front of the Tuileries, and in an adjacent street a block of houses is set on fire by one of the batteries. The struggle becomes a massacre, for the palace is invaded on all sides, its defenders seeking flight by any retreat; those who remain being pitilessly mowed down; women alone are spared, but everything is pillaged and destroyed. At eleven o'clock the mob's victory is complete. It rushes into the Assembly, carrying with it arms, furniture, and prisoners; and demands, with terrible imprecations against the King and his family, the Monarch's deposition. The Assembly can but comply, and thus in the presence of Louis himself it decrees that, considering the dangers of the country to have reached their crisis, which dangers are principally caused through the mistrust inspired by the conduct of the Chief of the Executive in a war undertaken in his name against the Constitution and National freedom, the Legislative, under the circumstances in which it is placed by events unforeseen by any laws, is unable to reconcile its fidelity to the Constitution with its resolve to perish among the ruins of the temple of liberty, save by appealing to the sovereignty of the people. Therefore the National Assembly decrees: That the French nation be invited to form a National Convention; that the Chief of the Executive be provisionally suspended from his functions

until the National Convention shall have pronounced upon the measures to be adopted to insure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality; that the King and his family shall be lodged in the Luxembourg and placed under the care of a citizen guard and the law; and that the present Ministers be dismissed, to be replaced by others whom the Convention shall temporarily appoint. The already existing decrees which have not been sanctioned are declared to be law. The Assembly declares itself in permanence.

§ IV.—THE LAST FORTY DAYS.

(From the 10th of August to the 21st of September, 1792.)

However ruinous and unsafe a dwelling may be, it is quite evident that the sole fact of knocking it down is not very satisfactory; we must build something in its stead, unless we intend to vacate the place altogether. The new building will require an architect, more or less skilled, and men content to work under his directions. That these could not be found among the mob that accomplished the insurrection of the 10th of August was patent even to the mob itself. The citizens and the Assembly had played an unwilling part in the revolt; virtually it was without political chiefs, or if not altogether without, directed by men who had not looked beyond destruction; they had as yet not given a thought to rebuilding, nor did they for the first forty days that followed the outburst—namely, from the 10th of August to the 21st of September, 1792—the urgency of the case notwithstanding. The history of these forty

days may be summed up in few words—excesses of ignoble anarchy, and wholesale massacres.

The Girondins, who prepared, and the Mountain, who accomplished this revolt, did not dissolve the Assembly, for they wanted an instrument to continue and legalise their usurpation. Before the murdered bodies were cold, while the ruins of the burned-down buildings were still smoking, Danton, the mouthpiece of the latter party, declared that henceforth no other judge should pronounce upon the extraordinary measures dictated by necessity than the people united in primary assemblies. And the Assembly, obedient to the Revolution, declared that what was done was well done, that every Frenchman above twenty-one was from that hour an *active* citizen, that everything pertaining to the country's safety from the interior as well as from the exterior should be left in the hands of the municipality (10th August). It despatched to the departments and to the army, commissioners charged with proclaiming the new Revolution, and with changing the civil and military authorities; it recalled to the Ministry Roland, Clavière, and Servan; it appointed Monge, Lebrun, and Danton severally to be Ministers of Marine, Foreign Affairs, and Justice.

The Commune, composed of 288 members named by the forty-eight sections of Paris, had not been waiting for these decrees to act as master. New brooms sweep clean, but they also raise a great deal of dust. It promulgated two hundred enactments daily, made short work of everything, and respected nothing. It suspended the directory of the department, transferred Louis and

his family to the Temple prison, on the plea that the Luxembourg did not afford sufficient guarantees for their safety; it imprisoned royalist journalists, and distributed their plant to the patriotic papers; it ordered the destruction of all the statues and emblems of royalty; it instituted a Watch Committee; in fine, it raised upon the ruins of ancient despotism a tyranny tenfold more sanguinary and unjust. Night and day it held sittings. It was judge, jury, and executioner in one. The members of the council-general of the Commune were the chosen of the Paris mob, having no talents but a hot-headed revolutionary energy, possessing no convictions, no probity; hating with an instinctive and implacable hatred everything that savoured of moderation and aristocracy, fondly nursing the rancour against wealth, birth, and education, bequeathed to them by Rousseau. Their idols were Robespierre, Marat, and Danton; the last having, as he boasted, become a minister "through the breach made by the patriots in the Tuileries." He was the communicating link between the Commune and the executive, which he delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the Mountain, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his three Girondin colleagues in the ministry, whom he overawed and browbeat. A strong man, no doubt; a great man, scarcely: deriving his ascendency from pandering to the vilest popular passions, which he himself shared to the utmost degree. He may have been, as he said of himself, "a revolutionist, because his mood urged him to be one." He was a leader who could storm a

citadel, but he lacked the inclination, if not the talents, to plan a properly conducted investment. Robespierre had taken no part in the insurrection; during the struggle he had lain hidden somewhere. But the danger once past, he joined the general council, where he soon gained the greatest ascendency, less by his reputation for superior talents, and his diffusive and declamatory eloquence, than by his umbrageous and mistrustful disposition, his atrabilarious temperament, his sombre imagination, his envious spirit of domination, which rendered him implacable to those who offended him; in fine, by the denunciations, alarms, and suspicions with which he constantly excited the mob. Marat, without belonging to the Commune, had gratuitously arrogated to himself the direction of the Watch Committee, which he ruled autocratically. His character, briefly defined, was that of "a fiend in human form." There was but one punishment his mind could conceive for the least offence against the Revolution—death! To inflict this punishment was demanded by him as the greatest happiness the Commune could grant.

The Assembly, terror-stricken at the usurpations of the Commune, endeavoured to reinstate the former Paris municipality, but had to give way; the Commune threateningly suggesting that its re-establishment would be followed by another attempt of the people at revenge, upon which the Legislative modified its decree, leaving the municipality merely the task of collecting the taxes. Intimidated by the same threat, the Assembly decreed the formation of a tribunal to judge, without appeal, the

traitors against the Revolution, its members to be elected by the districts (17 Aug.). It decreed the forfeiture of property of the *émigrés* (23 Aug.); gave the clergy who had not taken the civil oath the alternative of leaving France, or of being transported; and enacted that the municipalities could make domiciliary visits to search for firearms, and to arrest the suspected (26 Aug.). Despite all this, it did not regain its lost popularity, and the Paris Commune virtually remained the ruler of France.

Meanwhile all the ambassadors had left the country, which found itself ostracised by every great Power, and attacked by Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, the three episcopal Electors, and the Landgrave of Hesse. The army of the Allies, cheered by the presence of Frederick William, starting from Coblentz on the 30th of July, was marching from Luxembourg upon Longwy, intending to cut the French lines in half, and reach the capital by way of Dunkirk and Verdun; but its progress being slow, it only passed the frontier on the 19th of August. In all, supports and reserves, it was 160,000 strong, well disciplined and trained, and amply provided with ammunition and stores. To oppose these troops France had 96,000 soldiers, contrasting in every respect with their adversaries: raw levies, undisciplined, partly mutinous, commanded by new and inexperienced officers, wanting almost for everything, and, in addition, thrown out of its mental equilibrium by the Revolution. When the news of the suspension of the King arrived in the army, Lafayette pronounced emphatically against these acts, made his soldiers renew their oath to the Constitution,

obtained from his colleague, Luckner—ever vacillating—the promise that he would march with him on Paris, and had the three commissioners of the Assembly arrested. Guiltless as was Lafayette's conduct in all other respects, under the circumstances it was a dangerous thing to do, as the intended abandonment of his post might have facilitated a foreign invasion; consequently, in this instance, the Assembly could hardly be blamed for declaring him a traitor, and ordering him to take his trial. The soldiers were swayed hither and thither by conflicting opinions, for Dumouriez's troops acknowledged the Revolution, and the civil authorities refused to support Lafayette's revolt. This general, finding himself abandoned, fled over the frontiers (19th Aug.), accompanied by some of his partisans. He was arrested by the enemy's outposts, against all usages of war incarcerated, and, with his companions, moved from dungeon to dungeon for more than five years.

Dumouriez was appointed commander-in-chief in his stead, and Kellermann in the place of Luckner. The first general prepared to invade Belgium, thinking to arrest by these means the progress of the enemy. But the Allies had already arrived before Longwy, of which the garrison, unsupported by the inhabitants, was a prey to disorder. The town, after being bombarded for fifteen hours, capitulated (23rd Aug.), after which the Allies marched on Verdun, between which city and Paris there was no other fortified place, their left wing meanwhile besieging Thionville.

At the news of these reverses, the capital and

the whole of France grew more excited still. The prophecies of those whose interest it had been to foretell evil became verified, for Lafayette had fled, the Vendée peasants had risen to the number of 8,000, the army was disorganised, and left without reinforcements, the Royalists were rearing their heads everywhere, whilst the Prussians were boasting that treason would do more for them than valour. In this emergency the Assembly decreed that whosoever should propose to surrender a fortified place would be put to death immediately; that Paris and the adjacent departments should furnish a contingent of 30,000 troops, to be encamped at Montmartre. At the same time it endeavoured to regain its liberty by annulling the insurrectionary Commune, and by ordering the sections to elect new commissioners to form the general provisional council. But the Commune, heedless of the decree of the Assembly, spoke louder and more violently than ever, and in its turn passed measures for the defence of the country, decreeing that the church bells should be converted into cannon, the iron railings into pikes, the silver vessels of the churches melted down, arms and pay given to the poor, petitioners against the Federate camp disarmed, domiciliary visits conducted with more rigour, in order to discover hidden stores of arms, and the suspected arrested. Paris was terror-stricken. Commerce and social intercourse were at an end. These draconic regulations having yielded in a day a harvest of about 4,000 prisoners, the Commune, not knowing what to do, conceived the diabolical

design of exterminating them in a body. This was pandering to the wishes of the populace, who were possessed by the same fury which animated the Parisians during the St. Bartholomew's night. It was grumbling at the slowness of the authorities, who as yet, had only cut down five or six heads. The hatred of the mob, composed of fear as much as anger, and thinking that there was nothing but traitors everywhere, wanted a wholesale massacre.

The Committee chosen by the Assembly to devise measures for the general defence united with the Ministers and numerous deputies. The Ministers declared that another fortnight would see the Prussians beneath the very walls of Paris, that under these circumstances the best thing was to give them battle there, and that in case of defeat the Assembly should retire upon the Loire. Danton rose to his feet. "To retreat," he exclaimed, "would be ruin. We must maintain ourselves here at all cost, and save ourselves by audacity. We must frighten the Royalists." The pen can but convey the words, the gestures which accompanied them must have been terrible, for it is said that every one shuddered. He repeated the sentence once more, and, amidst the panic produced, left the hall, and proceeded to the Watch Committee, which had just admitted Marat and five others amongst its members. In a few hours a St. Bartholomew against the Royalists was resolved upon.

Its news spread, frightening every one, but surprising no one, for the idea of a wholesale extermination

had grown familiar to the sections, the Jacobins, and to the Assembly itself. The people were in a state of perpetual frenzy; ordinary every-day life had entirely ceased. Work, except in connection with the military movements, was suspended. Armed men and cannon were seen everywhere, women sewed uniforms in the churches, and the public squares were occupied by enlistment-booths. The people were inspired with fear; they doubted because as yet they knew neither the weakness of their enemies nor their own strength.

On Sunday, the 2nd of September, the premature and then incorrect news reached Paris that Verdun had capitulated—it did so the same day—causing the excitement to grow more intense. On all sides were heard imprecations on the traitors, and demands for their death. The Assembly, a prey to the universal frenzy, decreed that whosoever refused to serve or hand over any arms he might possess should be put to death. That day Danton made his speech, since become famous in history, winding it up with this sentence, "To vanquish the enemies, gentlemen, we must have audacity, and again audacity, and ever audacity, and France will be saved." And in response to this the Commune posted placards everywhere: "To arms, citizens! to arms! the enemy is at our gates." It further decreed the formation of an army to encamp on the Champ-de-Mars, which should hold itself ready to march against the enemy; and also that every one suspected should be arrested. At the same time the alarm-gun booms, the bells are rung the drums beat to arms, the capital—sections, Commune,

and Assembly—is out in the streets. The last sends twelve deputies to the camp at Montmartre, the Commune despatches its members to appease the popular tumult in the sections, three of which decree the wholesale massacre of the prisoners. Suddenly the cry is started that the Royalists are marching on the prisons, and are going to give up Paris to the Prussians. It is made the pretext of a revolt, from which even the Assembly does not remain free, and is supplemented by another decree: "That not one of our enemies shall remain alive to rejoice in our reverses and to crush our wives and children."

Out of four-and-twenty priests whom the mob meets on the way to the Hôtel de Ville, conducted thither by the Federate troops, one escapes with his life, after which they rush to the prisons of the Carmes and Saint Firmin to kill another batch of two hundred and forty-four out of three hundred clergy. A self-elected tribunal is formed, before which the unhappy victims are brought by scores, summarily judged, and as summarily executed, the corpses being left where they are struck down; one of the members of the Commune, Billaud-Varennes (1756–1819), trampling upon the quivering mass, exclaimed, "Continue, citizens! you are saving the Fatherland." This generous fiend had wine distributed amongst the murderers, and promised them twenty-four francs a head for their work.

Thus for three days the massacre continued at four different prisons, the Châtelet, La Force, the Bernardins, and Bicêtre. At La Force, the tribunal was pre-

sided over by Hébert (born 1755), of infamous memory, and out of three hundred and seventy-five prisoners one hundred and sixty-seven were slaughtered. It was there that the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe, the friend of Marie Antoinette, met with her death. Her body was torn to pieces, and her head, stuck on a pike, after being carried all over Paris, was paraded under the very windows of the Temple for the Queen to see it. In vain did Pétion himself try to stem the murderous tide. "Those who judged and those who executed," he said, "acted with the same security as if the law had called upon them to discharge their functions; they boasted of their justice to me, of their discrimination in sifting the innocent from the guilty, the services they were rendering, and wanted to be paid for the time occupied therewith."

According to a Royalist historian, the number of victims was one thousand and ninety-two, among whom there were ordinary criminals besides the supposed political offenders; as, for instance, at the Châtelet, where a hundred and eighty-nine of the former perished, while forty-four were set free. "The same thing," says a journal of the time,[1] "occurred at Bicêtre, where the mob had gone with cannon, thinking to find arms; the purifying of this house of detention was proceeded with in the same orderly manner as had happened in Paris. The prisoners for debt were set at large; many citizens, whom misery had brought there, ran not the least risk; but

[1] *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 65, quoted by Lavallée, *Histoire des Français*, vol. iv. p. 91.

the remainder fell under the strokes of the sword, the pike, the club of this Hercules mob, cleansing the Augean stables. A very great number were killed."

During these executions Paris was positively paralysed, not a hand among its five hundred thousand inhabitants was lifted to stay five or six hundred assassins. The National Guards, already partly disorganised by Santerre, were fluctuating between conflicting orders, some occupied in the Champ-de-Mars, others passive accomplices of the murderers. The Assembly, powerless or unwilling to act, kept a cowardly silence. Roland implored Pétion to intervene. Pétion, disobeyed everywhere, summoned Santerre to get the National Guards under arms; the latter refused, and said that the Commune was responsible for the massacres. The Watch Committee issued an order for his arrest, which would have been executed had not Danton interposed. The latter, to his honour be it said, endeavoured covertly to save as many victims as possible; he could not but condemn as a man what he had counselled as a Revolutionist.

The prisons being empty, the massacre ceased on the 6th, the Commune legalising the crime by paying the executioners—the fac-similes of the orders for receiving the money exist up to the present day. The Watch Committee addressed a circular to every commune in France, in which, far from condemning this horrible butchery, it invited them to do the same.

Fortunately but four towns responded to the invi-

tation, and only in a comparatively moderate spirit. A massacre also took place at Versailles, into which town forty-six prisoners, intended to be tried by the high-court of Orleans, had been treacherously inveigled by the troops from Marseilles charged to conduct them safely to their destination. Among the victims were the Duke de Brissac, and the late Minister, Delessart.

It is needless to record step by step the details of these horrible days, nor would it add to the reader's historical knowledge or amusement; suffice it to say that never before or, with one exception, since, have such scenes been witnessed. The Assembly, powerless, face to face with the brigands, was at last obliged to invoke the protection of the Commune itself until the assembling of the Convention, to which had been elected, through the intimidation of the mob, the most cruel-hearted and dishonest ringleaders, such as Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and Philip of Orleans, now called Égalité. In vain did the Assembly threaten to remove to the Loire—it but increased the anarchy without regaining its power.

After the surrender of Verdun, whose commander, Beaurepaire, shot himself in despair at his defeat, the Duke of Brunswick established himself in security along the Meuse. He probably held his enemies too cheap, or else secretly disapproved of the invasion, finding the mood of the French different from what the *émigrés* had represented.

This delay of more than a week was utilised by Dumouriez, who, at the news of the fall of Verdun,

abandoned his plan of invading Belgium, and returned in hot haste with his troops to Sedan. By some well-timed and cleverly-executed manœuvres he not only succeeded in presenting a formidable obstacle to the enemy's divisions, but the volunteers arriving in large numbers at the same time, confidence began to be restored amongst the soldiers of the Revolution.

The Prussians, seeing their mistake when too late, ventured upon an attack, which was severely repulsed (10th Sept.). Rendered too confident, perhaps, by this, Dumouriez allowed himself to be surprised by a second and more decisive movement of the enemy, and would no doubt have been worsted, but for one of the boldest schemes ever conceived by a modern general, and successfully carried out. Within a few days from this, the Revolution, which according to the *émigrés'* saying was but "a rabble of cobblers," and a nameless anarchy, showed itself, especially at the battle of Valmy, endowed with an energy which made its detractors pause, and inspired France with an idea of her children's hitherto misused strength.[1] Meanwhile the tide had turned in France's favour. The troops had regained their confidence and dash. The camps were scenes of joy and light-heartedness. They had provisions, they could brave the inclement season, they were expecting reinforcements. "Whatever the enemy may do, whether he advances, retreats, or ventures upon giving battle, I

[1] If we do not give the particulars of every battle, it is because they are of little value, save to the military student; for the professional military man our descriptions would be incomplete.

have the advantage of position," wrote Dumouriez. It was no idle boast. The Prussian army was, on the contrary, in a very critical position. Full of uncertainty and dispirited, it was floundering in marshy ground, without provisions, decimated by disease, having already lost more than 20,000 men. Wherever they turned, progress was barred by camps of volunteers, rising as if by magic, inspired by Paris, which did not shrink from any sacrifice. At last the long siege of Thionville compelled the Imperialists to leave France. The Duke of Brunswick, unable to stay where he was, equally unable to advance, decided upon a retreat. In this resolve he was supported by the King of Prussia, who was growing uneasy at the turn of affairs in the north, where the Russians, in concert with Austria, were invading Poland, intending to overthrow the Constitution of 1791. Seeing that he had been duped by the Emperor, Frederick William had but one thought—to secure his share of Poland.

By the 1st of October, the Prussians had evacuated French territory. Their march was slow and unharassed, for Dumouriez was bent upon conquering the Low Countries, leaving the care of pursuit to Kellermann, with whom he was not on the best of terms. It is even believed that he concluded with the enemy a secret treaty of evacuation, ratified by the executive and the commissioners of the Assembly.

Be this as it may, the facilities afforded to the Prussians for retreating, were nothing short of a military blunder, for as the French army in Alsace had at this

time obtained some signal successes, it would have been easy enough to cut off their return to the Rhine. But Custine, upon whom this task should have devolved, preferred to take the offensive, made himself master of Worms and Spires (21st Oct.), and penetrated as far as Mayence. The Prussians, fearing that he would march upon Coblentz, where their sole bridge across the Rhine was thrown, hastened their return, though Custine had not the least intention of intercepting them; on the contrary, he marched on to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, from which town he attempted to revolutionise Germany, at the risk of alienating the goodwill of the German Diet.

At the same time hostilities had commenced at the two extremities of the line of operations of the Allies—namely, in the Low Countries and on the Alps. In the former country, the Austrians, having routed the French near Maulde (24th Sept.), invested Lille, but instead of regularly besieging the fortress, they bombarded the town for twelve days, setting fire to more than 700 tenements. The heroic defence of the inhabitants, coupled with the news of Dumouriez's march into the Low Countries, compelled the enemy to cross the frontier (8th Oct.). In the Alps, Montesquiou had invaded Savoy, where he was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm. A flotilla of a few ships with 6,000 troops, under Anselme, and a million of francs subscribed by Marseilles, had landed near Nice, and pretending to be the advance-guard of a formidable armament, spread terror at its approach. Nice, the

fortress of Montalban, and Villefranche, surrendered with an immense store of ammunitions, a hundred cannon, and many vessels of war.

Europe stood aghast, France, which had been accounted unable to govern itself, was found capable of subjecting others. The country became cognisant for the first time of her great powers, it forgot her misfortunes, looked upon the present state of anarchy as a passing cloud, and placed all her hopes in the new National Convention, which had commenced its sittings (21st Sept.) on the morrow of the victory at Valmy.

Book II.

THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1.—THE CONVENTION.

(From the 21st of September, 1792, to the 2nd of June, 1793.)

HISTORY generally repeats itself; but in this instance history did not do so; it had cut out an entirely original groove. For three years Paris had not only made and governed the Revolution, she had transmitted to the rest of France her history and opinions, ready cut and dried; and the rest of France, thankful for small mercies, had accepted the initiative of the capital, and supported its efforts, hoping that the reforms and changes would be conducted decently and constitutionally. If error there was in this, its last lingering remnants were cruelly dispelled by the sanguinary outbursts of the 10th of August, and the anarchy of the subsequent forty days. These the rest of France, and especially the south, would not approve, though, perforce, condemned to accept them, knowing well that human nature is powerless to undo what has been done. But if aught could prevent the recurrence of such madness,

now was the time to take such preventive measures; hence the elections for the new Convention were made in a spirit generally hostile to the capital, and with the intention of escaping from its tyrannical influence, with the wish to return to order, and to be supported by a strong and respected government. Now that the King was suspended, and the Republic virtually declared, the Girondins seemed best calculated to further the plan, consequently a great number were chosen to sit in the new Legislature.

The Convention was composed of seven hundred and forty-nine members, seventy-five of whom had occupied seats in the Constituent Assembly, and a hundred and seventy-four in the Legislative Assembly. The Gironde occupied the Right side, having for its luminaries Vergniaud, Brissot, and Condorcet, supplemented by such secondary stars as Buzot, Pétion, Louvet, Barbaroux, and others, scarcely yielding in talents and courage to their chiefs. Its hopes for victory were based upon manifold good reasons, not the least of which was the supposition that it would be supported by the Centre of the new Assembly in its efforts to arrest the Revolution at the excesses of the 10th of August, to save France from intestine dangers in the shape of anarchy, and to endow her with a Republican Constitution, in which the middle classes should be invested with the supreme power.

The Left was composed of the Mountain, men of a totally different stamp, uneducated, coarse, and positive, who opposed to the Girondins' elegance of diction

and respect for humanity Revolutionary passions, and an implacable hatred against everything calculated to undermine them; destitute of all aversion for bloodshed and consideration for property; true disciples of their own coined maxim, "that nothing could be accounted a crime in times of revolution." "They," as one of them remarked, "were men of nature; their adversaries were men of state." The populace, which, according to them, had begun and should complete the Revolution, was their mainstay. Paris, in which their adversaries found themselves isolated, was the centre of their strength, obeying their least behests, supplying them with the power by which they intended to subjugate the Centre of the Assembly. Their aim was to save the Revolution from external dangers, and this they thought could not be better accomplished than by opening a precipice between the Monarchy and the Republic; than by devising laws that would lift the poor from their misery, and deprive the wealthy of their opulence. This they called bringing about the reign of true equality.

Between these two parties was the Plain, or Marsh, made up of men enlightened and honest, but peaceable and timid. In turns swayed one way or the other—towards the Girondins through their moderation and jealousy of Paris, towards the Mountain by their desire to save the Revolution—they nevertheless detested anarchy and violence. They formed the majority by supporting the Girondins in questions of government, or the Mountain in matters of public safety, until,

entirely subjugated by the latter through intimidation, they only served to sanction every excess.

The two extreme parties were irreconcilable. Though both loving the Revolution well, they constantly accused each other of wishing to betray it by working into the hands of the foreigner—the Mountain in disgracing it by its excesses, the Girondins in wishing to bring back the *ancien régime*. The minority, though inferior morally and intellectually, gained the victory by its juster appreciation of the tendency of the Revolution. Anarchy is not unlike a ghost-like apparition; though the terror it inspires be violent, it is generally short-lived. The fear of its recurrence, however, causes as much dread as the reality. Despotism, on the other hand, sober, calculating, partaking nothing of the chimerical, establishes itself more firmly. The Girondins were fighting against the former, the Mountain against the latter. The one was entirely at a loss to calculate beforehand the tactics of the spontaneous outbreaks that might follow, the other could with some amount of clearness foresee what measures despotism would adopt. The foremost aim of the Revolution at present was to defend itself; the National Convention had been called in to secure the independence of the country, not to give it a government; and one of its first terrible missions was to destroy, not to create. It proclaimed the abolition of Royalty (21st Sept.). This was not so much establishing a fact, as heralding another, the establishment of the Republic, which became the natural consequence of that

abolition; it was as yet a simple manner of being revolutionary, not a decided attempt at regular government.

The Convention further decreed the validity of all laws that had not been abrogated, the re-election of all administrative and judiciary bodies, the perpetual banishment of the *émigrés*, their sentence of death if found in France in arms. After which it subdivided itself into separate Committees, for suspension, for war, finances, legislation, and other branches, of which the members were generally Girondins. Having asked Roland for a report upon the situation of the country, and the minister having shown that the anarchical state of Paris began to spread to the provinces, the Girondins commenced a struggle against the Jacobins, which, unfortunately, neither well planned nor calmly executed, was simply distinguished by a mad confidence in the goodness of their cause. They accused the Paris Commune of having arrogated to itself, by means of violence and bloodshed, a power which should only belong to the whole of France; they insinuated that Marat, Danton, and Robespierre aimed at a triumvirate dictatorship. Said one of their members, "I will not allow Paris to become in France what Rome was in the Roman Empire. Paris must be reduced to an eighty-third part of its influence, the same as all the other departments." This was the signal of a counter-accusation from Danton, that the Girondins wished to make of the empire a Federation of petty republics. In support of this he brought forward the former threat of the Assembly to retire to the Loire, and a great deal

more of specious argument. Robespierre denied the insinuation of wishing to create a triumvirate dictatorship, and did so in his usual manner, by enumerating his own services and virtues. Marat also appeared, but even his own party could not prevent the outburst of disgust which his presence evoked. His speech breathed violence and murder, as of old.

Though puerile in the extreme, these mutual accusations of dictatorship and Federalism were made the perpetual war-cries of the opposing parties. The Convention decreed that the Republic should be one and indivisible, and that a committee should be appointed to secure for it an army, selected from the citizens of the eighty-three departments. On the first measure the Plain voted with the Mountain, on the second with the Girondins. While outside the Assembly the frivolous accusations of the Girondins were not credited, the counter-accusation against them of Federalism was not so easily disproved, and was regarded as an attempt to set the provinces against Paris.

The second attack of the Gironde was just as ill-timed. It was a renewed accusation against Robespierre of wishing to become dictator, which, being eloquently refuted, only served to increase his reputation with those fanatics who dreamed of the practicability of Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

In these fruitless debates the Girondins wasted the powerful position they had occupied in the beginning. Their inability did more to transfer all the power to the hands of their opponents than the latters' talents and

intelligence. They made Pétion refuse the Mayorship of Paris to see it occupied by Chambon, a nonentity, but who was supported by two extreme members of the Mountain, Chaumette and Hébert. By laughing at and misjudging the influence of Marat, they virtually granted him an immunity, of which he was but too anxious to take advantage. By twitting Danton continually with the crimes of September, they succeeded in alienating one who felt inclined to act with them from a sentiment of humanity which he was loth to avow, but which existed nevertheless. They equally tried to arrest Robespierre's ascendency by ridicule. All these were faults, at which the Mountain rejoiced, and used as a means of taking the offensive, whilst until now it had been content to stand on its defence.

The conquest of Belgium, undertaken and accomplished by Dumouriez, despite almost insuperable obstacles from the interior as well as from the exterior, raised the French spirit to such a degree, that nothing was spoken of but the wholesale overthrow of all European tyrants. "The Convention," said Danton, "was the general committee for the insurrection of all nations," and, in fact, the Assembly, led away by the fury of propaganda, decreed that it would grant "support and fraternity to all those nations who wished to regain their national freedom." This virtual declaration of war to the whole of ancient Europe was accompanied by decrees authorising all French generals, upon entering foreign countries, to proclaim the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of every feudal vestige, and the

election of a new administration, in which the *Sans-culottes* promised themselves not to play the most unimportant parts (15th December).

The Mountain had taken the initiative of these revolutionary measures, and though the Girondins regretted not having proposed them, the two parties continued nevertheless their war of suspicion and hatred. The Girondins, occupied in making a Constitution, hurried its completion with all their might, hoping that the re-establishment of legal order would ruin their adversaries, who but aimed at prolonging the state of anarchy, and who, further to unmask the moderation of their enemies, had hit upon a new question, which should arouse the scarcely slumbering passions. This question was the fate of Louis XVI.

Louis' fate had virtually been pronounced by his deposition; constitutionally he could be judged no further, but it was in vain the Girondins pointed this out. Saint-Just (born 1768), a member of the Mountain, scarcely twenty-five years old, openly proclaimed that no ordinary law was applicable to the former King, who was an enemy of the people, in which declaration he was supported by Robespierre. "There is no case here for you to try," said the latter. "Louis is not accused, you are no judges; you are, and cannot be anything else than statesmen and representatives of the people. You have not to pronounce sentence for or against a man, but to take a measure of public safety, to accomplish an act of national providence."

Face to face with their implacable adversaries, the

Girondins hesitated. They did not defend the King's inviolability, either from fear of being accused of Royalism or from a feeling of pity for the royal victim whose treason had been unmasked by them; at any rate, it was decreed that the King should be judged, and that the Convention should judge him. They discussed the form of indictment, based upon certain documents found in a secret safe divulged by the locksmith who had constructed it, and which documents, however, showed Louis to be less a traitor than one unable to resist the opinions of those around him. As if to insult the thirty-two Kings from whom he had descended, he was summoned to appear under the name of Louis Capet, France thus ignoring the glorious deeds accomplished during so many generations.

Whatever censure Louis' public conduct may have deserved, his demeanour during his imprisonment in the Temple was in reality befitting a King. And, as might have been expected, his gaolers were scarcely persons capable of reconciling humanity with the duties self-imposed by their blind and furious passion. When the news of his approaching trial reached him, he showed not the least emotion, nor did his courage forsake him even in that crucial test when he was interrogated before the Convention, insulted, browbeaten, harassed by his implacable enemies. He contented himself by denying most of the facts of which he was accused, while others which could not be denied, were ascribed, as they really may have been, to the responsibility of his ministers. When the interrogatory was

completed, even his last solace, the presence of his family, was denied to him. His counsellors, Tronchet and Malesherbes, with whom was young Desèze, were the only ones with whom he could communicate. It was the latter who pronounced his defence (Dec. 26th), a masterpiece of logic and eloquence, powerless, however, to save him, which failure the young barrister anticipated by winding up his peroration with, "I seek among you judges, and I see nothing but accusers."

Fertile as the French assemblies have been in scenes of confusion, Louis' departure from the Convention, after his defence had been pronounced, was the signal for a disorder which has probably never been equalled before or since. It partook more of the nature of a combat than of a debate. The King and the King's life were but the pretext, his death or his deliverance meant the achievement or the destruction of the Revolution. The Girondins, frightened at the issue of a question whose import they had never fully grasped, wanted to save the King; they considered that his death would be a stigma on the Revolution, a gauntlet of defiance thrown to all Europe, but even their party feeling was stronger than humanity, and instead of resolutely opposing it, at the risk of their power, they preferred temporising and compromise. Too humane to kill, too selfish to save, they attempted to throw the onus of condemnation, or the credit of acquittal, on the nation herself. This would have unavoidably exposed France to a civil war, and the Mountain was not slow to perceive and show the absurdity of the proposal, by unmasking the

hypocritical confessions of its adversaries, who, said they, admitted by these tactics their complicity with the tyrant, their desire to see the foreigner invade France, and to dismember the country by Federalism. The struggle lasted twelve days, and was simply a succession of decrees launched on either side. The Gironde had a measure passed that whoever should attempt or propose the re-establishment of Royalty, under no matter what name, should be punished with death. Not to be outdone, the Mountain declared that whosoever should attempt to destroy the unity of the Republic should be equally punished with death. These and other decrees did but augment the agitation of Paris, already fermenting under the most terrible misery, produced by absence of work and dearth of food, which was growing more scarce each day, while the paper-money was decreasing in value. Everywhere there were bread riots, and another civil strife was looked forward to at the end of the King's trial. At last (15th January, 1793), Louis XVI., by an almost unanimous vote, was pronounced guilty. What would be his punishment? Banishment or death? The votes upon these two questions were divided as follows:—Three hundred and thirty-four pronounced for banishment, detention, or death on certain conditions; three hundred and eighty-seven for death, whilst eight-and-twenty votes were lost in the confusion.

The verdict was communicated early on the following morning to the unfortunate King (18th January), who immediately wrote to the Assembly, "I owe it to my honour and to my family not to subscribe to a

judgment which inculpates me in a crime of which I am not guilty; consequently I declare that I appeal to the nation herself from the verdict of her representatives." On the motion of Robespierre the appeal was rejected (19th and 20th January), and the following morning was appointed to decide the last question: Should there be a delay in executing the verdict upon Louis? The delay was negatived by a majority of seventy votes, upon which it was decreed that execution should take place within four-and-twenty hours, that the Commune should allow Louis to communicate with his family, and to avail himself of the ministrations of a clergyman selected by himself.

Though transported with joy, the Jacobins still doubted whether they would reap the fruits of their victory. The rumour of a Royalist plot had spread through the town, and was to some extent substantiated by the murder, in one of the Paris coffee-houses, of a deputy who had voted for the King's death. Every one expected a terrible outburst. The Jacobins were ubiquitous, haranguing, threatening, taking precautionary measures; above all, holding up the deliverance of the condemned King as the triumph of the foreigner, who would immediately invest Paris. The Commune used all its vigilance and tyranny, had the gates of the capital closed, forbade crowds to collect in the streets, and provided the whole of the population with arms.

Louis received his sentence with the utmost calmness; and after a heartrending interview with his family, slept peacefully. He received the last Sacra-

ments from a priest chosen by himself, and was conducted slowly through an army of bayonets to the Place of the Revolution, where, close to the overthrown statue of Louis XV., the scaffold was erected (21st January). Not a murmur, not an appeal for mercy issued from the lips of this armed multitude, the majority of which was nevertheless torn with grief. Not for one instant did Louis belie his religious firmness. Having mounted the scaffold, he attempted to address the crowd. "Frenchmen," he said, "I die innocent of the crimes with which I am charged. I forgive the authors of my death; all I ask is that my blood shall not be on the head of France." More he could not say; he was interrupted by the beating of drums; the executioner seized him, the knife of the guillotine fell, and at twenty minutes past ten, the unfortunate monarch, victim of a Revolution bequeathed to him by his ancestors, had ceased to live.

"We cannot go back, our position is such that we must conquer or perish," said Marat. He was right. France had broken with her past by an outrage for which the whole nation was held responsible in the eyes of Europe. The Jacobins had their wish. The head of Louis was, as it were, the gauntlet thrown down to the rest of the world. There was no middle course left; France must now be the last or the first of all nations. Henceforth it was war to the knife between her and the rest of Europe. A new coalition was formed, at the head of which Pitt and the English aristocracy proposed to lead the crusade of

the regular governments against the French Revolution. Pitt conceived the hope of checking the Revolution by throwing England into a war with France, by holding out this crisis as the opportunity of gaining the empire of the seas, by stigmatising the Revolution as irreligious, anti-social, destructive. He succeeded in dividing Parliamentary opposition, unconsciously assisted by Burke, who, already more than two years ago, had separated himself from Fox, his friend of twenty years' standing, and had thus afforded a support to the Ministry which entirely over-ruled the power of the Whigs, to the advantage of their opponents the Tories. Having, it is said, favoured by secret subsidies the intrigues and excesses of the Jacobins, Pitt had begun to take up a hostile position, after the events of the 10th of August, 1792, by recalling the British ambassador. He also represented to the English nation the great value of her cherished Constitution, and raked up the old rancour by magnifying the importance of the conquest of Belgium, and the threatened danger to Holland. Upon the last subject he haughtily demanded explanations, and at last commenced acts of real hostility, by forbidding French ships to purchase corn in England; he even allowed a French merchantman to be seized in the Indian seas, by two English men-of-war. At the same time he induced the Dutch Stadthouder to join the coalition.

Until now the Convention had been extremely patient under these many provocations; and determined, if possible, to preserve the goodwill of the only nation,

seemingly, sympathetic with the Revolution. But, when Pitt sanctioned this last arbitrary measure, it threatened to appeal to the English nation herself, and to constitute her the judge between the two Governments; a proceeding that might lead to consequences not at all foreseen by the Tory Minister. In fact the English were still adverse to a war with France, inspired by a kind of democratic instinct which told them that the latter country was defending a righteous cause. The Republican party in England was far from silent. Amidst these events dawned the execution of the King. Pitt, horror-stricken at the fate of Louis, dismissed the French ambassador, and, though already virtually at war with the country, induced France to declare war against England and Holland (8th Feb., 1793). By fair means and foul Pitt incited all the European powers, with the exception of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Venice, and Turkey, against France; he made them think that they had but one common enemy, and that this enemy was the French Revolution.

France was not greatly alarmed at the hostilities she had provoked; her first victories, the grandeur of her situation, nay, her very excesses, inspired her. She saw herself in possession of three millions of men, of property worth eight thousand million francs, and entrusted with the mission of revolutionising the whole civilised world. "The French must form one grand army, and the whole of France one camp," said Brissot. And the nation responded to the vehement appeal. All difference of opinion, all rancour were forgotten in the common aim to

save the country; a new Minister of War was appointed, eight hundred million francs of fresh paper-money issued, to which were added three months after another twelve hundred millions. The army, not sufficiently numerous, was increased by a new levy of three hundred thousand National Guards, the remainder of that Guard being declared permanently available (24th Feb.). The fresh contingent from Paris, which town had already supplied eighteen thousand troops to the army, was composed of seven thousand six hundred men, who, four-and-twenty hours after the passing of the decree for the new levy, filed off before the Assembly. One cannot but confess to the same surprise as that of a deputy of the Convention, who said, "What puzzles me is that the working men, the labourers, the poor, in one word, those classes of society who lost most by the Revolution, have been almost its sole supporters throughout."

At present there was nothing for it but to open the campaign with the available forces—two hundred and seventy thousand men. Fifty thousand were posted near the Pyrenees; forty thousand already occupied the Alps, eighty thousand were on the Rhine, twenty thousand on the Moselle, and another eighty thousand on the Roer, in Belgium. This last army was in a state of the utmost destitution; they had no other means of living than by pillage, and consequently entire companies returned to their homes, saying that they had come to save the country, but not to die of starvation. Nor were the subjugated provinces disposed to bear this rapine tamely. They wanted a Republic, and not a

Revolution; they began to curse their so-called deliverers, especially when they saw their churches defiled, and their treasures carried away. Dumouriez, who had treated Belgium with tact and circumspection, to facilitate her union with France, and to reserve a safe asylum for his soldiers, was irritated beyond measure at the conduct of the swarm of Jacobins who infested Belgium after the 15th of September, bringing anarchy and all kindred evils in their train. He came to Paris to denounce the proceedings of the brigands, but was received with calumnies by the clubs, who accused him of having connived at the escape of the Austrians, as he had done at that of the Prussians. He returned to his troops, determined to put an end to this odious state of things by some deed of daring.

He had clearly traced his plan of operations, which was, to drive back beyond the Rhine the enemy, who had reinforced himself on the Roer. But, unfortunately, he lent a too willing ear to the promises of the Dutch *émigrés*, who told him that Holland was ready to revolt against her Stadthouder. He resolved to penetrate as far as Utrecht, where Miranda, a fellow-general, descending the Meuse, was to join him; while another leader, with 35,000 men on the Roer, should hold the Austrians in check. He might have foreseen that a plan so adventurous and ill-adapted to the position of his enemies would fail.

Dumouriez, after a month of unequal fortunes, found himself defeated at Neerwinden, in a critical position between two armies, and a river in his rear. He

effected, nevertheless, an orderly retreat on Brussels. That this defeat would lead to the loss of Belgium was patent to every one, and Dumouriez saw himself exposed to the fury of his adversaries. He began to project anew the plan which he had conceived before the campaign, the victorious issue of which was to have given him easier means of execution. That plan was to bring France back to the Constitution of 1791, to reconcile her with the rest of Europe by giving her a legal government, and by placing on the throne the Duke de Chartres, a young man who had played a most brilliant part during the whole of the war, whose talents were acknowledged and feared by the Jacobins, and who was the only Bourbon whose position with regard to the Revolution was perfectly pure and unsuspected. In order to accomplish this he recalled his troops from Holland, put some soldiers into the fortresses, and retreated, lukewarmly pursued by the Austrians, with whom he had secretly arranged for the evacuation of Belgium. His army was completely disorganised, entire battalions of volunteers deserted, but the troops of the line remained faithful, and he himself formed the rear-guard with 15,000 chosen men. He abandoned Brussels, evacuated Antwerp and Namur, and arrived on the French frontier, where he encamped his army, to await a favourable opportunity of executing his plan—a plan absurd, and not only fatal to himself, but also to the Gironde, on which he counted, and which, unaware of his defection, was nevertheless dragged into his ruin.

The execution of Louis XVI. had rendered the position of the Gironde more untenable than ever; its hatred toward the Mountain increased, and became more bitter day by day—the latter openly avowing its system of destruction, the former its powerless desire for leniency. They mutually threatened each other with assassination, accused each other of treason, and of the most absurd projects to harm the Revolution. Danton was the prominent butt of the implacable hatred of the Gironde, and yet all those who observed and reflected, signalised Danton as the mediator through whom the genius which might organise the Republic could communicate with the passions that had engendered it. Danton himself was well disposed towards the Gironde. It was perfectly true what he said later on: "A hundred times I offered them peace; they would not accept it. They refused to believe me, so as to reserve to themselves the right of ruining me; it is they who have compelled us to throw ourselves into *sansculottism*, which has devoured them, which shall devour us, which shall devour itself."

In this daily struggle the disadvantage was with the Girondins, who sided with the middle classes, capable, it is true, of governing the country, but incapable of defending it; and this, at the present moment, constituted the supreme need. On the other hand the Jacobins, in calling the multitude to the defence of the country also called it to govern it, and pretended to act solely for its behoof. They said it was time that the poor should live at the expense of the rich. They

more than said it; they decreed that the Paris tradesmen should contribute 7,000,000 francs to revictual the capital. Marat openly councilled pillage and murder, and the mob, obedient to its friend, followed his counsel. The Gironde indicted Marat and failed, giving its enemies a new opportunity of saying that it sided with the egotists and monopolists of food. Thus the Girondins lost ground day by day, especially when Roland, their doughtiest champion, tendered his resignation, tired of the strife. In the Convention the Constitution drawn up by Condorcet had not even been discussed. The news of the reverses in Belgium threw the capital into consternation; the Convention sent commissioners into every section to incite the citizens to take up arms and to rush to the scene of battle. The theatres were closed, the black flag was hoisted, the public mind became excited, as on the 2nd September, and the Commune demanded that before marching to suppress the enemy from without, the internal foe should be punished by an extraordinary tax on wealth, and an extraordinary Revolutionary tribunal to try the traitors. To this the Girondins offered a stout resistance, which drew from Danton a wholesale accusation against them; after which the Convention passed a decree authorising the two demands, and legalising a third, providing for a levy of 300,000 men in the provinces, which levy eighty-two deputies should accelerate by forthwith repairing to the several departments.

In the tribunal intended to try the traitors, the Jacobins claimed to remain unfettered as to precedents.

The suspected should be judged without appeal. The Girondins, however, succeeded in passing a measure, if not more lenient, at least more legal. Irritated by its defeat the Mountain excited the mob, and in the middle of the night an armed band proceeded to the Assembly in order to kill the Girondins, which, no doubt, they would have done, had not the latter, warned of their danger, hid themselves, while those who remained, took up arms, resolved to sell their lives dearly. The result was that the would-be murderers failed, and found themselves seriously compromised by the abortive attempt.

A few days after the news of the defeat of Neerwinden and the irrecoverable loss of Belgium, a threatening letter was sent by Dumouriez to the Convention. This, redounding to the discredit of the Girondins, increased the fury of their adversaries, who there and then began to inaugurate high-handed measures, by proposing the creation of a Committee of Public Salvation, which should exercise a sort of dictatorship. In addition to this they transferred the executive from the ministers to the Convention, and decreed that Dumouriez should be brought to the bar to answer for his plot of counter-revolution, which the general had openly avowed. Four deputies and the minister of war were elected to inform the accused of this decision.

The deputies arrived just in time to prevent Dumouriez from accomplishing some of his plans. When they acquainted him with their mission he had

them arrested and passed over to the hands of the Austrians, who were still at Tournay; after which he issued a proclamation to his troops, setting forth his plan of marching on Paris, to re-establish the Constitution of 1791, and to save the moderate but oppressed party in the Convention. His progress, however, was stopped by the volunteers. His soldiers abandoned him, and he was obliged to take refuge in the enemy's camp with the princes of Orleans, his staff and a few hussars. He led a miserable existence for thirty years, and died in exile in England in 1823.

The Convention offered a reward for Dumouriez's head, and ordered a new levy of forty thousand men, wherewith to reconquer Belgium. The Jacobins had but one cry: to accuse the Gironde and Philip of Orleans as accomplices of Dumouriez. The Girondins retorted by laying the blame of the recent disastrous events on Danton, who had lately been in Belgium, where, they said, he had not only pillaged right and left, but supported Dumouriez in his plots. From that day the Girondins' fate was sealed; Danton openly declaring that henceforth between them and him truce or compromise was impossible. And the Convention, instigated by Danton and his party, decreed, that a deputy could be brought before the Revolutionary tribunal the moment he was suspected of complicity with the enemies of the State; that Philip of Orleans and his family should be arrested and transferred to Marseilles; that the extraordinary Revolutionary tribunal could judge crimes of conspiracy on the simple denunciation of the

public prosecutor; that three representatives should be constantly with each army corps, and should have supreme control over everything (6th April). The proposal to institute a Committee of Public Salvation was also adopted by the Convention. This Committee deliberated in secret, was composed of nine members, renewed every month; and, in fact, governed the destinies of France. The general superintendence of the police was vested in a Committee of General Safety, subordinate to the former, but still possessed of great authority. This latter Committee had already existed some time before, and was composed of twelve members. That not one of the Girondins belonged to these two Committees need hardly be said.

The Girondins, though still in a majority in the Convention, rather by reason of their talents than of their number, had no coigne of vantage left elsewhere. Marat even went so far as to distribute in the sections a petition against them, which was supported by Robespierre. It failed, however, mainly through the able defence of Vergniaud; and Marat was indicted before the Revolutionary tribunal. To this the Commune responded by presenting a petition of the sections praying for the expulsion of twenty-two deputies, upon which half of the Assembly rose, demanding to be placed on the list with them. This time the Girondins were the victors, but they could not prevent Marat from being acquitted in the most honourable terms by the Revolutionary tribunal, and from the multitude carrying him in triumph to the very hall of the

Convention (24th April). Paris seemed fully resolved to destroy the generous but impolitic Girondins who wanted to save France by moderation.

The strife between the two parliamentary parties had spread to the provinces, which were divided the same as Paris was. The departments threatened immediately with foreign invasion, on the east and north-east, were generally inclined to side with the Mountain. Those of the south were Girondins, but in the south-east republicanism was in reality but a cloak to hide Royalism. In these parts the Mountain had everything against it, though its violence supplied the lack of numbers. Especially did they try to set up their despotism in Lyons, where many a sanguinary battle had already been fought, and where civil war was becoming more imminent every day.

The south-west was frankly Girondin, and gloried in its deputies, especially Bordeaux, the centre of unfettered opinion, so closely identified with the old traditions of Guienne. The north-west inclined more towards the Constitution of 1791, and Caen was the centre of these opinions. Finally, in the west, that is, in Brittany, Poitou, and Anjou, the Royalist opinions had openly hoisted the flag of the *ancien régime*, and attempted a terrible revolt to re-establish the absolute monarchy, the nobility and clergy. These countries were to be the scenes of a deadly strife between the old and the new faith.

In that part of the country, best known under the name of Vendée, different to the rest of France in every-

thing, in physical as well as in moral aspects, where the sway of the lords was mild and patriarchal, where the priest was ignorant but virtuous, where the peasant was poor but not oppressed, the Revolution was neither welcomed nor understood. The danger to which France was exposed evoked no sympathy in the hearts of the inhabitants. Already frequent revolts had broken out, which, easily suppressed, had led to nothing of any consequence, but the ordered levy of three hundred thousand men was the signal for a universal outbreak, which in a short time spread over the adjacent country, and took the heroic proportions of the struggles of antiquity.

At the news of this insurrection (13th April), the Executive Council decreed the formation of another army, but only a few detachments of gendarmerie and ten thousand volunteers of the neighbouring departments could be brought together, a body incapable of any organised attack. The Republicans were beaten throughout; La Rochejacquelein, the general of the opposing forces, a man of high lineage and undoubted valour, inspired his troops with the courage he himself possessed in so eminent a degree.

This revolt of the Vendée roused the popular passions to a boiling-point. Several departments of the south levied troops against the insurgents, and subscribed important sums. The Convention approved of their conduct, and the Paris Commune decreed a levy of six thousand men taken from amongst the idlers and egotists; a forced and proportionate loan on the rich;

and lastly, the formation in every section of a Revolutionary Committee, charged with the carrying out of these measures. Paris, exhausted by the successive strains upon her young and devoted population, resisted these decrees, the Royalists and Girondins invaded the sections, and it was only with the greatest difficulty, and by spending immense sums of money, that an army made up of the scum of the populace was brought together. Santerre was placed at the head of these men, who distinguished themselves by their cowardice and sanguinary fury.

Meanwhile the danger grew day by day, the whole of Brittany and Normandy were ready to revolt. The south was preparing to support its Girondin opinions by force of arms; Bordeaux and Marseilles threatened the Convention to march upon Paris in order to save their representatives; in Lyons, the sections and municipality were arrayed against each other; Corsica, incited by Paoli, openly defied France. The news of the exterior became more and more alarming.

The successes of the French at the frontiers had been but short-lived. After Dumouriez had abandoned the French troops, they were defeated on all sides. When these tidings arrived in Paris, the Gironde and the Mountain again accused and made each other responsible for the misfortunes of France. The latter endeavoured, as usual, to find a remedy in violence and arbitrary measures, and they succeeded in passing a decree regulating the maximum price of corn, and granting a forced loan of one thousand millions of francs

on the rich. The Girondins resisted these measures, which they knew were directed as much against themselves as against the rich, and the Assembly, removed since the 10th of May to the Tuileries, became like an arena of gladiators. After the usual bandying of recriminations, the moderate party gained a temporary victory in the appointment of a Committee of Twelve to examine the acts of the Commune, and to investigate the supposed conspiracies againt the national representatives (18th May).

When the Girondins had the power in their hands the same fate befell them which befell the slave of a magician, who saw his master wave his wand and heard him give orders to the spirits who arose to his summons. The slave stole the rod and used it, but had not observed that his master had used the left hand, and he employed the right; the spirits, thus irregularly summoned, tore the thief to pieces instead of obeying his orders. The Girondins' right hand was virtue, while their opponents' left was nothing but tact; and this tact the Girondins neglected, or were unwilling to employ. When the Committee of Twelve, composed of Girondins only, felt themselves powerful, they laid bare on the spot their plans of reaction, dissolved the Revolutionary Committees, threatened the Commune, and allowed the rumour to spread that they intended to suppress the Revolutionary tribunal.

Arbitrary acts can only be successful when there is strength to back them up, though this force may never be called into action. But the force was in the

hands of the Commune, which speedily resolved to stay the proposed reaction by another revolt.

The sections immediately appointed a central Revolutionary committee, avowedly for the purpose of intimidating, if not of murdering, their opponents. The Committee of Twelve ordered its arrest, and specially that of Hébert, its chief, which proceeding was regarded as a personal insult to the Commune, the sections, and the clubs. They declared their sittings permanent, and presented a petition to the Convention asking for redress against the Committee of Twelve; a demand which was answered by Isnard with a threat of razing Paris to the ground at the least attempt of the Jacobins to produce another insurrection. Nothing could have been more ill-advised than this, for it hastened the very thing it intended to prevent. The suppression of the Committee of Twelve and the immediate liberation of Hébert were insisted upon by deputies of twenty-eight sections, escorted by a furious mob, which invaded the hall and threatened the Assembly. Amidst the most horrible confusion a fraudulent decree was obtained, which suppressed the Committee and set free the citizens incarcerated by it (27th May).

The following morning, upon a fresh motion being made, leading to a most violent debate, the Committee of Twelve was reinstated, but the liberation of Hébert was maintained. The Jacobins, in a rage, were of opinion that nothing but an armed revolt would rid them of their adversaries, and Danton was to direct the outbreak.

In the night of the 30th May the alarm-bell sounds,

the drums beat, the gates of the town are closed, and the representatives of the sections proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, where they invest the constituted authorities with unlimited powers in the name of "The People in Insurrection." Immediately the Commune appoints Henriot (born 1761), a coarse and brutal drunkard, chief of the sections; it decrees a pay of forty *sous* to every poor citizen who takes up arms; it convokes the sections in arms, who allow themselves to be conducted to the Tuileries.

The deputies were already assembled, and Danton, who wanted to check the fury of the people, demands the annulling of the Committee of Twelve; but at the same time a deputation of the Commune arrives, clamouring for the arrest of the deputies who "have slandered Paris, and want to destroy it." It ends, however, in the simple suppression of the Committee of Twelve.

The Commune thinks its victory incomplete, and on the following night, at the instigation of Marat, it decides that the mob shall besiege the Assembly until the twenty-two deputies of the Gironde, whose expulsion it had demanded before, and the Committee of Twelve are handed over to them. Henriot assembles five thousand men devoted to the Commune, most of whom imagined that they were defending the Convention.

The Assembly was commencing its sitting; few of the Girondins were present, most of them having taken shelter with their friends, though some were resolved to die at their posts. Foremost among them was Lanjuinais, who, however, scarcely supported, could not make a stand

against the popular fury. This roused even the indignation of Danton, for the Assembly was no longer free; it was surrounded by troops everywhere, and could neither deliberate nor dissolve. The day ended by the arrest of two ministers and thirty-one Girondin deputies (June 2nd). It was the 10th of August of the Convention; the Gironde, suspended and captive, like Louis XVI., expected nothing but its sentence.

§ II.—THE VICTORY OF THE MOUNTAIN.

(From the 2nd of June, 1793, to the 27th of July, 1794.)

VIOLENCE has this doubtful advantage over moderation, that when it has accomplished its aim it can become moderate in its turn, and thus reconcile those whom it alienated; while moderation must ever pursue its level course, sometimes to the detriment of its adherents. The former principle was practised by the Mountain. Once victorious, it began to change its tone and conduct. The Revolutionary tenets which it advocated had been until now always more or less in opposition; after the 2nd of June, when it had become a power, it passed from the offensive to the defensive, thinking thereby to secure stability for the Revolution. In this it was mistaken. Assailed by the various parties which it had defeated, but not conquered, it fell; and the Revolution, which had reached the topmost round of the ladder, was compelled to descend. The reign of the Mountain presents thus three distinct periods—in the first it crushes the party which it had defeated in its attempt at an insurrection; in the second, it divides itself into

three factions, the exaggerated, or Hébertists; the moderates, or Dantonists; the stationary, or Robespierre party, which last remains master of the field. In the third period, all the vanquished parties, from royalists down to Dantonists and Hébertists, plot a reaction against Robespierre, who succumbs in his turn, and by his fall definitely arrests the further progress of the Revolution. Some of the deputies arrested on the 2nd of June voluntarily submitted to a trial which could but prove their innocence; but the majority escaped, to rouse the departments into revolt against Paris. Amongst the latter were Pétion, Buzot, Guadet, Barbaroux, and others, who retired to Caen. The department of the Eure gave the signal of the insurrection by raising an army of four thousand men, and sending commissioners into the adjacent departments, to induce them to act in concert (13th June). Thus twelve departments established at Caen an insurrectionary Assembly, and created an army, made itself master of the public funds, imprisoned the two Paris representatives, and appointed the town of Evreux as the meeting-place of the insurgents. The south-west and south-east followed their example. In Lyons the struggle between the sections and municipality had ended, already a month before, in a battle, in which the latter was defeated. At least fifty departments were in open revolt against the capital. In the Cevennes thirty thousand peasants had risen, and threatened to join the Vendée, which had openly proclaimed Louis XVII., and which, forming a grand Catholic and Royalist army, beat the Republicans at

Saumur, from which town they had the road to Paris open to them. The regular army found itself cut off from the capital everywhere by the insurgents. Corsica threatened to call in the English, who every now and then descended upon the coasts. In fact, France was about to be annihilated by Frenchmen and foreigners alike; but whatever the faults of the present authorities, to their honour, be it said, they rose to the occasion in the hour of danger, by conceiving measures of which no nation can show the parallel.

On one side was the whole of Europe, with three parts of France; on the other Paris, with about twenty departments. But formidable as were the enemies of the Revolution, they lacked unity, while the Republicans were full of energy, singleness of purpose, and inspired by the sacred cause of independence they were upholding. The foreign assailants were no longer battling for the principle of monarchy; they merely wished to dismember France and share the spoil. The *émigrés* were kept back, relegated to the rear, and forbidden to land in the Vendée. The Vendée itself and other departments were not stirred up by a broad and liberal doctrine; they were fighting some for religion, others for local privileges; the utmost they could and were prepared to do was to die for their God and their King. The Girondins managed the revolt as they had managed their politics, without a leading aim, without proper guides. They were altogether in a false position, and doubtful of themselves; while their opponents did not waver for a moment, but were ready to shed their own as

well as their enemies' blood without pity and without stint.

Danton, fit to cope with great crises, displayed all his energy and boldness. On his motion several measures of the utmost stringency were passed against the insurgents. A new Constitution was framed within a week, the most simple and democratic on record; for the Mountain cared nothing for the form of government, being solely occupied in saving the Revolution. Opposition there was none; both Right and Centre, though they had secretly protested against recent events, subscribed with acclamation to the demands of the Mountain. The Convention was no longer a deliberative assembly, but a council of state, where the chiefs merely reported what had been done, and proposed measures which were silently adopted. The Revolutionary laws had not even been discussed within the building; the Jacobins had handed them over ready cut and dried.

While the enemies of the Convention were irresolutely deliberating, an event occurred which increased the popular fury against them. Charlotte Corday, a young (born 1768), beautiful, and heroic girl, sharing the opinions of the Gironde, accused even of being their tool, came from Caen to Paris, and assassinated Marat while in his bath (13th July). She thought that in killing Marat she was killing the Revolutionary party, while, on the contrary, she was ridding it of a man who might have become embarrassing by his extravagances. She never repented, and kept her calmness and fortitude

to the moment of her death. Her victim was buried with the most exaggerated pomp and honours, and his last remains were deposited in the Pantheon, side by side with those of Mirabeau.

The adoption of the Constitution by the primary assemblies threw the insurgent departments into consternation. Their troops were defeated everywhere. The proscribed deputies, after refusing to invoke the aid of the English, sought refuge at Bordeaux; but when that town, some little time after, submitted to the new Constitution, they were handed over to the representatives of the Mountain, who brought them to the scaffold.

The submission of that town, and also of Caen, relieved the anxiety of the Convention respecting the west. In the south-east, however, the resistance partook more and more of Royalism. Lyons was in open revolt, commanded by two Royalists, who were in communication with the King of Sardinia. At Marseilles the Royalists refused to accept the constitution, and raised ten thousand troops to march upon Avignon, but were intercepted by six thousand Republicans, who defeated them. The vanquished retired to Toulon, which also professed Royalist opinions. Being pursued thither by the Republicans they closed the gates of the town, proclaimed Louis XVII., and handed over the great Mediterranean port to the English Admiral Hood (27th August). In the Vendée Royalism obtained some signal successes. In fact, no army which the Republicans could send thither was capable of subjugating these irregular but heroic masses.

Mayence and Valenciennes had surrendered—the first to the Prussians on the 25th of July, the second to the Austrians on the 28th of July. Throughout it seemed as if a blight had fallen on France. Arsenals were set on fire, paper-money was reduced to a sixth of its value, and the scarcity of food increased.

In this terrible state of affairs the Mountain was seized with a desperate resolution to save the country at all costs, even by imposing upon her the most onerous tyranny. It appointed to the Committee of Public Salvation men renowned for their patriotism, energy, and talents, but also for their pitiless fanaticism, and their blind adherence to the Revolution. These men, who swayed France for a twelvemonth, were Barrère, Jean le Bon-Saint-André, Couthon, Hérault-Séchelles, Saint-Just, Robert Lindet, Prieur de la Marne, Robespierre, Carnot, Prieur de la Côte-d'Or, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois.

On the proposal of the new Committee, the following measures were decreed (1st August). The Convention denounces to all nations, and even to the British people, the conduct of the British Government, who support and bribe assassins and incendiaries; it declares Pitt the enemy of the human race, forbids the entry into France of all British merchandise, and orders the arrest of all British subjects; Marie Antoinette is to be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal; twenty deputies of the Right are outlawed (these were the fugitives); forty-five others are indicted (these were the imprisoned, as well as several others);

seventy-three deputies who had signed a secret protest against the imprisonment of the ministers and the thirty-one Girondin deputies, which had taken place on the 2nd of June, are to be arrested; the tombs of Saint Denis shall be destroyed; the property of all outlawed persons shall be confiscated; the garrison of Mayence shall be sent to the Vendée, the population whereof shall be transplanted elsewhere, their harvests shall be cut, their houses destroyed, their forests burned by the inhabitants of the adjacent department, who all, from the age of eighteen to sixty, are to march against the insurgents.

These reprisals were but the forerunners of more stirring measures. On the 10th August a *fête* took place in Paris, in honour of the new Constitution, where the people, in Greek costumes, showed themselves inspired by a sombre enthusiasm, and a desperate resolve to go on to the bitter end. The capital was one vast camp, those who could not bear arms were told off to serve in the hospitals. The proprietors of land were ordered to pay two-thirds of their contribution in kind, to provide subsistence for the army, which delegates of the primary assemblies were to collect everywhere. To keep the enemy of the interior in check, as well as that of the exterior, the following additional measures were passed (5th September): a Revolutionary army of six thousand men and twelve hundred gunners shall be placed at the disposal of the Committee to enable it to carry out its orders; the sectional assemblies shall sit twice a week, and in order to insure the attendance of

its members, all those present at its sittings shall receive forty *sous* for their loss of time (17th September); all suspected persons shall be arrested and detained until peace is proclaimed, and by "suspected" are meant all the relatives of *émigrés*, all dismissed functionaries, and all those who by word or deed have shown themselves partisans of Royalism or Federalism.

Further, the whole of the State debt, known under different appellations, was to be consolidated into one, and inscribed on the register of the public debt; a maximum price was also to be fixed on all objects of primary necessity. Dealers were compelled to declare the state of their stock, to continue the carrying on of their trades, both of buying and selling; any one abandoning his business was declared suspected; forestalling of corn or provisions was to be punished with death. The supreme power, placed in the hands of a few individuals, was virtually changed into a dictatorship. The Constitution could not be enforced until peace was proclaimed. The executive, the generals, the army, the constitutional bodies were all placed under the control of the Committee of Public Salvation. The system of war was appropriate to the occasion—revolutionary, original, and decisive. Until then it had been carried out on the principles of the old school, with feeble results as a rule; now it was resolved to crush the enemy by unexpected and daring blows delivered upon one point.

These tactics were applied with such admirable ability by Carnot, a young officer of engineers, seconded by the administrative capacity of Prieur de la Côte-d'Or

and Robert Lindet, that in the space of less than four months the despairing France of August was victorious on nearly all points by the end of December.

As we have before intimated, these battles, alternately lost and gained by the French, are, from various reasons, beyond our province. It will be sufficient to state that on the 28th of December the Austrians crossed the Rhine and retired on Mayence, and the French, fatigued by a laborious campaign, prepared to take up their winter quarters in the Palatinate.

They had not been so successful in the Alps and Pyrenees: first of all, because the principal anxiety had been for the armies north of the Rhine, but also because nothing decisive could be attempted while Lyons was in a state of revolt and Toulon in the hands of the English. Consequently, all that could be done was to act on the defensive in the Maritime Alps, while in the Eastern Pyrenees the French met with several reverses, which led to their army retiring on Perpignan in a state of demoralisation and disorder. Humiliated, but scarcely compromised by the ill success of their arms, the authorities directed all their principal efforts to crush the rebels at Lyons, the Vendée, and Toulon, which threatened the very existence of the Revolution.

One of the members of the Convention, Dubois de Crancé, a clever engineer officer, had already bombarded Lyons for six weeks without success. This town would probably have held out longer had not Kellermann defeated twenty-five thousand Piedmontese sent to its relief. The victorious division came to swell the number of

the besiegers, so that the Lyonnese, after an heroic resistance and much suffering, were obliged to surrender. Two thousand of the inhabitants tried to break through the ranks of the Republicans, but were all killed with the exception of their leader, Précy, and eighty men, who took refuge in Switzerland.

The conquering legions were now divided, one part to resume its own positions, in Savoy, the other to reinforce those troops who had been investing Toulon for the last two months. It was in this siege that the greatest military genius of modern, perhaps of ancient times, made himself known by a most successful use of the breaching batteries against some of the forts of the town. This genius, it need scarcely be said, was Napoleon, then twenty-four years old (born 1769). So successful was his attempt that it compelled Toulon to capitulate, whilst the English evacuated the place, after setting fire to the arsenal, the wharfs, and the ships. Had it not been for the convicts on the hulks, who checked the conflagration, the town would have been reduced to ashes; as it was, more than half was laid in ruins.

The insurgents in the Vendée had been unable to utilise the advantages they had gained, and, instead of consolidating their victories — eager as they were to rescue their brethren in the south from public oppression —they were defeated, and had to retire within their territories. There they organised an expedition on a larger scale, by which they frustrated the formidable but ill-planned movements of their enemies, and compelled them to fall back upon Nantes. After which they turned

upon the remainder of the army, defeated it, and thus made themselves masters of various advantageous positions. Defeat was considered so great a crime that two of the Republican generals who had allowed themselves to be beaten were deposed, their armies united into one, under the nominal leadership of a very mediocre general, but, in reality, commanded by Kléber (1754?–1800) to whom the capital gave to understand that they expected him to make an end of his adversaries by the 20th of October. Kléber more than executed his commands, and within less than the given time. Unfortunately, through ill-concerted measures, the Vendeans were again allowed to raise their heads. Badly organised as were the Republicans, the insurgents were still worse; they lacked everything but the courage of despair. The men were exhausted and hampered by the women and children, who in formidable bands, half-starved, destitute of all necessaries, accompanied them on the march. On the 22nd of December their hordes, consisting at times of more than a hundred thousand, were killed or taken prisoners near Savenay, with the exception of barely a thousand, who fled into Brittany.

Thus the Republicans were signally successful almost everywhere, but at the cost of incredible sufferings and privations. A hundred thousand men had perished on the various fields of battle; industry and agriculture had lost more than fifteen hundred thousand hands; entire provinces were devastated by the various requisitions which tyranny, under a new name, had enforced with an iron hand. To escape from a despotism mild

in comparison with present and probable future tyranny, the people made continual sacrifices of its labour, its substance, and its blood, which flowed not only on the fields of battle, but deluged Paris and every large town by continuous and horrible streams from the scaffold, whilst the prisons resounded with the groans of many thousands of victims incarcerated under the pretext of being suspected. Of what it would be difficult to say. Perhaps of not being Republican, for such an offence was sufficient to stamp a man as an outlaw against whom no measures could be severe enough. "There ought to be no citizens in a Republic," said Saint-Just, "but Republicans. Royalists and conspirators are but strangers, or rather worse, they are enemies. Only he who has contributed to the emancipation of our country has a right in it." Said Collot d'Herbois, "A drop of blood spilt from the generous veins of a patriot falls on my own heart like lead, but I have no pity with conspirators. They speak of sensitiveness—we also are sensitive! The Jacobins have every virtue; they are humane, compassionate, and generous, but they reserve these sentiments for the patriot who is their brother, which the aristocrat can never be."

Principles like these foreshadowed still greater excesses; and these became at last so virulent that the generation which inaugurated the Revolution, forgetting the good it had wrought, cursed it, and loaded it with anathemas, lasting even to the present day. It wanted but little to be denounced as suspected; and so eager was the Commune to apply that little, that the prisons were gorged with inmates, and five or six buildings had to

be added to the old ones for the purpose. From suspected to condemned was but a small step with such a sanguinary tribunal as was then sitting, and every one arrested could but make his peace with God, for he could expect no mercy from his earthly judges. The first great man to fall under the Reign of Terror was General Custine (born 1740) accused of having favoured the surrender of Mayence and Valenciennes; in other words, killed for not having been successful. Next came the unfortunate Queen of France, who with laconic brevity and stolid calmness answered the vile accusations brought against her, though more often refusing to reply to the infamous insinuations of Hébert. And so with heroic resignation she died on the 16th of October. Next came the twenty-one Girondins, and so eloquent was their defence, so embarrassing to their judges, that the Jacobins had an edict passed, which henceforth authorised juries to cut short the debates when they felt themselves convinced; which edict was in hot haste made into law, and applied to the deputies who were sentenced to death. One stabbed himself, the remaining twenty mounted the scaffold, singing the *Marseillaise* (31st October). In the early days of November came the Duke Philippe d'Orleans, surnamed Égalité (born 1747), who died with far greater dignity than he had known to live. He was succeeded by Madame Roland, slain for having aided her husband to escape; by Bailly and a host of others, notably amongst them the well-known Madame Dubarry, the ex-mistress of Louis XV.

If in these sentences a semblance of judicial form

was still preserved, in the departments guilty of insurrection in favour of the King and Girondins, the blood flowed without even the least pretext of indictment or trial. When the numbers were not sufficient to satiate their raging thirst, the Terrorists decreed, as at Lyons, the destruction of a whole town, to raise upon its ashes a new one, which should bear the name of "Affranchised Commune." The Convention dispatched for this purpose the erewhile actor, Collot d'Herbois (born 1750) who, finding the guillotine too slow for slaughter, and the pickaxe too powerless to destroy, employed cannon against humanity, and mining operations against buildings. "Let us exercise justice," cried his coadjutor, Fouché, "by taking an example from nature; let us strike like lightning."

At Nantes the victims were bound together, and thrown into the river, till at last it became choked, and the contaminated water was forbidden to be drunk. Fifteen thousand people are supposed to have perished in that town alone.

The Committee of Public Salvation, the incarnation of a Reign of Terror, had become so powerful by this time that it seemed almost impossible to check its outrages. To this, however, two fractions of the Mountain now began to apply themselves, in order to substitute new ideas in the government of France. One of these parties was called the Exaggerated, and led by Hébert; the other were the Moderates, whose chief was Danton.

Hébert's faction dominated the Commune, and was supported by a horde of brigands, calling themselves

the Revolutionary Army. They were the scum of the Revolution, without which they would scarcely have been scum. So many charms had the Reign of Terror for them that they wanted to consolidate it into a perpetual and regular Government; they demanded the dissolution of the Convention, in the hope of being elected into the new legislature; they clamoured for the constitutional organisation of the Committee of Public Salvation, so that they might be comprised in the executive council. Their direct attacks against the Committee were concealed under the cloak of wishing to root out those of its members who, in their opinion, were too indulgent and lenient. They even accused the friends of Danton, and clamoured for the death of the seventy-three imprisoned deputies. At last, to out-revolutionise the Revolution, they asked for the abolition of the Roman Catholic religion.

The special character of the French Revolution is destruction, at which it works obdurately, without cessation. With a profound disdain it looks upon the fourteen previous centuries in France's history, as if during them nothing had been accomplished, as if that which had been done was one vast crime, to be effaced as soon as possible. The only countries and governments by which henceforth France will be guided are Rome and Athens, these beautiful model republics of the delightful old world which Christianity had destroyed to establish upon its ruins the structure of the middle ages and feudal tyranny. Hence the first thing that should have been overthrown was Christianity; and this,

no doubt, would have been done, had not the Revolution trusted to the increasing infidelity and scepticism to accomplish its own work, by allowing the Roman Catholic worship to die of inanition. This thought must have been uppermost in the minds of the Convention when it confiscated the Church vessels, allowed the priests to marry, changed the nomenclature of the streets that bore the appellations of saints, and committed many other acts like these. It had gone a step further by the institution of the new calendar, contemporary with the reformed law on weights and measures (5th October, 1793). Public documents were dated from the Republican era of 1792, or rather from the year One. The year began on the 22nd of September, the day of the autumnal equinox, and of the inauguration of the Republic; it was divided into twelve months of thirty days, to which were given magnificent names, borrowed from the seasons, but scarcely fit for any climate, except of the mildest. The month was again divided into decades of ten days, each day called by the name of a product of the soil. Last of all, the year was terminated by five complementary days, called the *sans-culottides*. The Sunday as a day of rest, the religious holydays, the names of the saints, were eliminated from the calendar; it wanted but one more step, to banish them from the Church, and to destroy all worship.

The Mountain, now predominant, represented, as we have already said, the three political schools of the eighteenth century. The party of Robespierre, like its leader, impassioned admirers of Rousseau, whom Robes-

pierre copied in all his extravagances; the party of Danton, disciples of Voltaire; and last of all, the Hébertists, followers of the avowed unbelievers, whose destructive sallies they exaggerated and rendered ridiculous.

The last party had many adherents inside and outside the Convention, amongst them a certain Anacharsis Clootz (born 1755), a Prussian baron, with an income of a hundred thousand francs, and who may rightly be called the buffoon of the Revolution. He himself, however, took his part in all earnest, proposing the most outrageous measures with a coolness and gravity which were certainly astounding. He and Hébert instigated Gobel (born 1727) the Bishop of Paris, accompanied by eleven vicars, to present themselves before the Convention, to declare that they renounced the worship of the Roman Catholic religion, "because there ought to be no other worship than the national one, that of liberty and equality" (Nov. 7th). The example of Gobel was followed by nearly all the ecclesiastics of the Convention, with the exception of the Abbé Grégoire, who protested courageously, telling the innovators that if he was priest from choice he was a Roman Catholic and a Christian from conviction.

The irreligious movement once started, the numerically feeble resistance it met with was soon overcome, and the Commune transformed the church of Notre Dame into a Temple of Reason, and celebrated a feast, where Reason in the guise of a woman was enthroned on the altar. This imbecility proved but the herald of many other follies too numerous and absurd to mention, but by

which the Hébertists alienated to a great extent the sympathies of the rural populations who wanted to be Revolutionists whilst remaining Christians. In fact, the discredit brought upon the Revolution by these outrages, not only on the most cherished traditions, but on common sense itself, has not yet entirely worn off. At every fresh revolt, having for its object political emancipation, the French clergy do not fail to point back to the anti-Christian doctrines propagated during the first Revolution; and though no such recurrence is to be apprehended, the superstitious and ignorant are apt to be influenced by these fears.

Meanwhile, part of the Mountain, and with them Danton, began to be frightened at these various excesses, foreseeing that the Revolution would ruin itself through them. The latter retired for a time to his own country, but came back to endeavour to put order into all this disorder, to reinstate the reign of laws and justice for all, to recall those members of the Convention who had been violently driven from it, to submit to a rigorous scrutiny the Constitution of 1793, to offer peace to the European powers—in fine, to repair as much as possible the evils to which he himself had contributed. Those most willing to support him were Hérault-Séchelles, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine, and many others, some from disgust at the horrors which the mob committed daily, others because they themselves were in want of exoneration for their far from blameless private life. Danton himself may be counted among the latter. It is almost certain

now that he received money from the Court before the 10th of August, 1792, that his dealings in Belgium were not altogether honest, and that Lacroix had been his accomplice, while Fabre d'Eglantine found himself with three fellow-deputies seriously compromised in the falsifying of a decree.

Danton hoped to be supported in the Convention by the Plain, which by leaning towards one or the other side constituted a majority. He also trusted to the support of Robespierre, who regretted many of the excesses, and was the sworn enemy of the Hébertists, the principal opponents of that moderation in government which Robespierre wanted to introduce without compromising the Revolution. Danton attempted to propagate his doctrines by means of a newspaper, the *Vieux Cordelier*, a most original publication, edited by Camille Desmoulins, an intelligent and high-minded young man, but led away by the turmoil of circumstances, and who, now that the Revolution was mistress of the field, was gradually coming back to more gentle theories. This newspaper, directed against the Hébertists, became the darling of the masses, who received it with murmurs of admiration. Of its first number more than fifty thousand copies were sold in a few days. A gleam of hope penetrated even to the prisons.

As may be seen, moderation and violence were face to face, equally clamorous for power. The future of the Revolution depended on the side taken by the Committee of Public Salvation, also attacked by Camille Desmoulins in his broadsheet. This Committee was

again divided into three groups, those who filled the administrative posts, Prieur de la Côte-d'Or, Carnot, and Robert Lindet, and who were always buried in their offices amongst their papers; the Revolutionary group, composed of Barrère, Collot-d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes, men given to bloodshed and execution, who dominated the clubs and the Commune; lastly, the group led by Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just, theorists, for the most part, charged with reporting events to the Convention. Robespierre leaned towards the side of the Moderate party, Couthon (born 1756) agreed with the Hébertists, Saint-Just hated the one and the other, thinking them equally immoral. He asked for the destruction of the Hébertists in the name of Heaven, for that of the Moderate party in the name of virtue. The party of Robespierre were victorious in the Committee, Billaud and his coadjutors consenting to give up the most notorious atheists of the Commune, provided those of the Convention should be spared, and on the promise that the Moderate party should afterwards be sacrificed. Danton, whom Robespierre in vain tried to save, was one of them.

The latter commenced the onslaught against the Hébertists at the Jacobin Club, by asking by what right a band of individuals, hitherto unconnected with the Revolution, had attacked the liberty of religion in the name of liberty itself, by wishing to substitute one fanaticism for another, and by declaring that the Convention had proscribed Roman Catholic worship, or that it would ever do so. The Hébertists were

disconcerted, and a subsequent decree having passed, on the motion of Robespierre, the Commune reinstated the freedom of worship. But though the sacrileges ceased, every religious man became suspected, and the churches remained closed, whilst the administrative documents were still full of a contagious atheism. Previous to engaging further in the strife, the Committee of Public Salvation wished to invest itself, as the executive power, with a new concentration, in order to constitute a Revolutionary Government. It decreed, therefore (4th December), that all the official bodies and public functionaries should be placed under its direct orders. The applying of the Revolutionary edicts was also confided to the Committees. The syndics of the departments were replaced by national functionaries, the creatures of the Government and not of local bodies. All levies of troops and raising of taxes were forbidden to the representatives in the provinces, and a Bulletin of Laws was framed to promulgate and insure all these Governmental decrees, which bulletin was at the same time a virtual manifesto against the Moderate party and Hébertists (5th February, 1794). "Our first concern must be," said Robespierre, "to govern the nation through reason, and the enemies of the nation by fear. The internal foe is divided into two factions, marching by different roads to the same goal, which is the disorganising of the popular Government and the triumph of tyranny. One of these factions drives us to weakness, the other to excess, the one wishes to change liberty into a bacchante, the other into a prostitute."

This manifesto was followed by several arrests among the adherents of the two parties, to which serious measures the Moderate party only replied by sarcasm, while the Hébertists incited the people to another revolt, fortunately suppressed before its outbreak, but which led to the arrest of the ringleaders, and to their trial being demanded of the Convention (13th March) by Saint-Just. Hébert, Clootz, Ronsin, Vincent, some chiefs of the Revolutionary army, who had distinguished themselves by their cruelties, and several strangers who scarcely knew the Hébertists, in all nineteen individuals, were tried, condemned, and executed (24th March).

The execution of the Hébertists caused a great sensation; it was the first time the Government attempted to keep the Revolution within reasonable limits, by ridding itself of those who would drive it to extremes. A change of policy was hoped for; the Dantonists thought that the Committee was giving in to their ideas, even the Royalists attempted a reaction in the departments. When the Government saw that their slightest return to leniency and moderation was made the signal of a counter-revolution, it resolved to strike at the first patriots who had raised that cry of moderation. The opposition of the Moderate party was less dangerous than that of the atheists, if the former had not been led by Danton, much more formidable than Hébert. Consequently, though Robespierre would have willingly saved his former friend, he was prevented by the private pique of several of his own partisans, to whom Danton had become obnoxious.

Danton was informed of the measures taken against him, but trusting to the fancied goodness of his cause, as he never attempted to promulgate his ideas save through the channel of public opinion, he refused to fly or to take precautions of defence. To the former proposal he answered, "Do you suppose a man carries his country about him under the soles of his boots?" Six days after the execution of the Hébertists, he, Camille Desmoulins, and three others were arrested.

At the news of their arrest, some of the members of the Convention prepared to resist. This resistance was prevented by a speech from Robespierre, and by Saint-Just, who came to demand their trial. With the partisans of Danton were arraigned several other deputies, who shared their ideas, among them Fabre d'Eglantine (born 1755), and some strangers and army-agents, in order to make it appear that the Moderate party had conspired with forgers, *émigrés*, and speculators.

The whole of Paris was upheaved at seeing these celebrated deputies appear before the Revolutionary tribunal, none of them more than thirty-six years old, and all in the vigour of their age and talents. Danton demanded that his accusers should openly step forward, but Saint-Just, afraid to allow this, instigated the public prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville, to drag the trial through the three days prescribed by the new law, and by these means abruptly to end the debates. Danton would hardly have been got rid of by this subterfuge, but his accusers spread *false* reports of

a new conspiracy, and the Convention, terror-stricken, ordered the execution of the Dantonists. They died, to the number of fifteen, under the guillotine (5th April). A few days later, on the pretext of this same conspiracy, the remainder of the two parties of the Hébertists and Dantonists were led to the scaffold, including Chaumette, Gobel, Bishop of Paris, and the widows of Hébert and Desmoulins. The last remnants of opposition swept away, the dictatorship of Terror remained master of the field, and swayed the destinies of France with a power hitherto possessed by no sovereign. Every one not sharing its opinions was humbled to the dust; and it could henceforth give its undivided attention to the salvation of the country, and to the only means by which, in the eyes of posterity, it has redeemed its sanguinary rule. The campaign of 1794 had begun; a campaign that completed the conquering attitude which for the next twenty years France assumed face to face with the whole of Europe.

There were but two countries left that could still profit by war, the very countries which owed their grandeur to conquest, and for this reason perhaps the two most declared foes to the Revolution, England and Russia. The latter had undertaken to vanquish Poland, where the democratic principles, the country's dismembering notwithstanding, were in full sway, and concentrating all their hopes in a last throw—an insurrection (March).

England found herself alone against France; Prussia took Pitt's money but did nothing, Spain refused to

act, for fear of being duped by her allies; Holland, Piedmont, and Austria were rather tired of their continual defeats, but Pitt lavished all his gold and genius to rekindle a war which should save England's aristocracy, and give her the empire of the sea, ever her most cherished aim. Despite all opposition, despite the remonstrances of Fox and Sheridan, who stigmatised this war as unnecessary and the probability of its success as problematical, Pitt obtained from Parliament all he asked; in fact, the opposition was reduced to so small a number that "a hackney cab would have sufficed to take it down to the House of Commons."

Notwithstanding the energy displayed by Pitt, the coalition inspired by him could only work in a methodical manner with regard to recruiting and finances, while France employed the whole of her resources, whether in population or wealth, to combat the enemy. The wholesale levy had produced five hundred thousand men, of whom but a few battalions had been sent the previous year to the battle-fields, where they had contributed much to the success of the French arms. The small-arms manufactories had turned out a million of muskets, the foundries were prepared to cast seven thousand cannon per year. Twelve million pounds of saltpetre had been extracted from the soil. The navy, lately so demoralised, had been recruited from the merchant service and the maritime populations of Brittany and Normandy. Sixty vessels were cruising along the coasts, and the French privateers had already

taken more than four hundred merchant crafts from the English.

The army of the North, comprising three divisions, the whole under the command of Pichegru, was a hundred and sixty thousand strong. The Allies had about an equal number; General Clairfait, with five-and-twenty thousand troops, was on the Lys; Kaunitz, with thirty thousand, occupied the line of the Sambre; and in the centre the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, with one hundred thousand men, was besieging Landrecies, to march, after the surrender of the latter town, by way of Guise to Paris. The French, discarding at first the plans of Carnot, to attack in mass, endeavoured to relieve Landrecies, but their isolated efforts failed. It was then resolved to manœuvre by the two wings on the Lys and the Sambre, while the centre should fall upon the Prince of Saxe-Coburg. But that centre was beaten at Troisville (April 26), and its defeat entailed the fall of Landrecies. The French right wing made a useless march; but through the fault of the Prince himself, who, after the taking of Landrecies, remained stationary, the left wing, under Moreau and Souham, took possession of Courtray and Menin, completely defeated Clairfait at Moucron, and afterwards at Courtray.

Pichegru, seeing the success of his left, divided his centre into two wings, leaving but twenty thousand troops to face the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, who himself was uncertain whether to go to the rescue of Clairfait or Kaunitz. The army of the Sambre was meanwhile to execute upon the left of the enemy posted between

Mons and Charleroi the same movement which had been so successfully accomplished by the army under Moreau and Souham on the right wing. Cheered and encouraged by the representatives, Saint-Just and Lebas, who directed the movements, though nominally commanded by the generals Desjardins and Charbonnier, the troops crossed the Sambre three times, though compelled each time to re-cross the river. Both the representatives, sword in hand, who had already stated beforehand in the order of the day that the army should be victorious, were powerless to ensure success. A fourth passage of the river was followed by a fourth retreat. In the meanwhile the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, trying to imitate Pichegru, had also divided his centre, and reinforced Kaunitz, while he himself went to relieve Clairfait. But he was defeated by Moreau and Souham, whose communications with Lille he wanted to interrupt, and compelled to retreat with a loss of three thousand men and sixty cannons. Pichegru, arriving on the morrow, pursued him, but with little success. The French general resolved then to besiege Ypres, in order to attract Clairfait, whom he eventually defeated, after which the town surrendered (17th June).

The doubtful results of these two months of sanguinary, though useless warfare, made Carnot alter his plans. The army of the Moselle, sixty thousand strong, under General Jourdan, who for some time had remained inactive, received the order to join the army of the Sambre with forty-five thousand men. Arriving just at the moment when the representatives, Saint-Just and

Lebas had crossed the river for the fifth time and been again repulsed, Jourdan took the command of the united armies, and once more attempted the passage, which he accomplished. But he had scarcely time to let his troops fall back into line before Charleroi, which he intended to invest, when he was assailed on the heights of Fleurus by the combined forces of the enemy, and, after a most determined resistance, compelled to retreat. On the spot a seventh attempt was resolved upon, Charleroi being the key of the campaign, for its fall opened the road to Brussels to the French, and rendered useless all the positions between the Sambre, the sea, and the fortified places on the French frontier. This time the movement was crowned with success. Charleroi was invested and the siege pushed with such vigour that at the end of a week the town surrendered. At the moment that its garrison was marching out, and while the Duke of York and Clairfait were occupying the line of the Scheldt, the Prince of Saxe-Coburg appeared with seventy thousand troops on the heights of Fleurus, and ignorant of the fall of Charleroi, attacked the French, who inflicted on him such a crushing defeat that he was compelled to retreat upon Brussels, with a loss of nearly five thousand men (25th June).

The Committee of Public Salvation, instead of profiting by this decisive victory to threaten the line of the Meuse and the direct communications of the Imperialists with their basis of operations on the Rhine, directed Pichegrü on Bruges and Jourdan on Mons, taking from the two armies three divisions to

invest Landrecies, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé. The Duke of York and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg having been beaten on all points, retired behind the Dyle, after evacuating Bruges and Brussels, but instead of uniting they again divided, the English determined to cover Holland, the Austrians to get as near as possible to Cologne. By this they gave the armies of Pichegru and Jourdan, who had joined each other at Brussels, a splendid opportunity to beat them separately, which they did (10th July); but scarcely united, the two French generals again separated, Pichegru leisurely pursuing the English, who abandoned Antwerp and retreated on Breda; whilst Jourdan, more active, defeated the Austrians at Louvain, and compelled them to recross the Meuse, while he himself entered Liége. Then the French, by an order of the Committee, arrested their march until these four places in Flanders should have capitulated, leaving the English posted behind Breda and Endhoven; while the Austrians occupied the Meuse from Roermond to Liége.

On the Moselle and Rhine, where sixty thousand French, occupying the lines of the Sarre and the Lauter, were facing seventy thousand Prussians, the Allies did nothing, and the military movements were unimportant; but they were not so in the Alps and Pyrenees.

The French armies of the Alps and Italy, in all seventy-five thousand strong, had received the order to make themselves masters of the crests of the mountains, guarded by forty thousand Piedmontese from Mont Blanc to the sea. One army occupied the little St. Bernard and

Mont Cenis with comparative ease, while the other invaded the camp and fort of Saorgio—by which it had been held in check for the last two years—according to a plan of young Buonaparte, who commanded the artillery, and was advising the old but trusty General Dumerbion. In less than twenty days all the higher chains of the Maritime Alps were in possession of the French (April 28th). The Revolutionary armies could by these victories have penetrated as far as Turin, but through the vacillating policy of the Committee of Public Salvation, which could not decide upon a single plan of operations, the troops, after this brilliant beginning, remained inactive.

In the Eastern Pyrenees, Dugommier had reorganised the demoralised troops, who beat and beat again the Spaniards, until these were so exhausted that it wanted but a step for the French to enter Catalonia.

These splendid achievements were somewhat counterbalanced by the reverses at sea. In Corsica the French troops still struggled against the forces of Paoli; but they were blockaded by the English fleet—which had abandoned Toulon—and compelled to surrender (20th July). The French colonies in India were lost without scarcely a blow. Guadaloupe was lost, retaken, and lost again. Martinique was obliged to capitulate, after a most heroic resistance under General Rochambeau. St. Domingo was the theatre of a most cruel strife between the whites and blacks, which made that colony the scene of great devastations and much bloodshed. Last of all, a terrible battle (June 1st) fought between the English admiral Howe and

the French admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, near Brest, on the French coast, completed the naval disasters of the French. In this sea-fight the latter acted with great spirit and courage, so that they compelled admiration from their very enemies, who, though they suffered far less than the vanquished, were obliged to abandon the plan for which the battle had been fought—namely, the intercepting of a convoy of grain from America. The French lost eight thousand men and seven vessels, one of which, the *Vengeur*, became famous in history, through the poetical, though rather mendacious, romance attached to its sinking by one of the deputies, Barrère (1755—1841).

Though the safety of the Republic, notwithstanding these naval reverses, was assured from without, the distress in the interior did but increase. The Vendée was not subdued; the first symptoms of an insurrection, which later on was known as the *chouannerie*, commenced to show themselves; the *assignats*, the issue of which it was difficult to limit with fourteen standing armies to feed and provide, had fallen to a sixth of their value; the prime necessities of life had disappeared from every market, through the tyrannous and ill-regulated requisitions at the outset; horses were scarcely to be found; industry and commerce, save those that provided war-materials and every-day requirements, stood still. The laws, which fixed a maximum price for many articles and salaries, had been powerless to arrest the scarcity of corn, for notwithstanding their minuteness and rigour they were almost openly and fraudulently

eluded by the dealers, who sold two kinds of articles, one for the rich, who paid the real price; the other for the poor, who paid the maximum. This, if nothing else, would have been an endless source of confusion, oppression, and clamour.

Save periodical disturbances, occasioned by this scarcity, the Committee of Public Salvation had succeeded in suppressing anarchy, by what they called unity and order, but which was simply tyranny. The ministers, considered useless, were replaced by twelve *bureaux*, or Commissioners, receiving their orders from the Committee; the Revolutionary army of the Committee, who had been nothing else but a constituted horde of brigands, was disbanded; Revolutionary committees of the communes had been abolished everywhere, save in Paris, and their powers relegated to a police, small in number, but bloodthirsty and active. All the clubs had disappeared, save the Jacobins, which was the sole lever of public opinion; the expulsion of all the nobles from Paris and from the fortified places was decreed. The extirpation of the enemies of the Republic seemed a fixed plan, for the executions increased day by day. In the departments the bloodthirsty frenzy continued, advocated and defended by the Committee in Paris, where the so-called Revolutionary tribunal condemned and executed in batches, on the pretext of conspiring together, people who had never seen each other, and who were sent to their doom without even the semblance of a trial. In this way perished the amiable and virtuous sister of Louis XVI., the honest and upright Malesherbes (born 1721) and his family, the great

chemist Lavoisier (born 1743), and many other eminent men. In the history of fanaticism, there is no parallel to be found to this wholesale butchery. "Our enemies must perish," exclaimed Barrère, in the Convention; "only the dead do not return." Nor was it personal hatred or private feelings that prompted him and his fellow-butchers to commit these horrors. They seemed to believe in the holiness of their self-imposed mission.

Meanwhile Robespierre and his coadjutors, Couthon and Saint-Just, whilst approving this system of extermination, wanted to give to the Revolution a higher aim. They pretended to effect a moral transformation, not by denying a supreme Being, as the Hébertists and Dantonists had done, but by establishing a chimerical democracy, in the manner of ancient Sparta, a society that should have nothing in common with its European surroundings. They did not attempt to instruct, purify, or moralise the masses; they had taken them as the fount of justice and force, and as such they adored them. "The unhappy are the power of the earth," said they; "they have a right to dictate to the governments that neglect them." To arrive gradually at this fanciful republic was not their intention. They wanted an instantaneous, universal, and absolute regeneration. "We desire," said Robespierre, "an order of things in which the laws shall enchain all base and evoke all beneficent and generous passions, in which the country assures the welfare of every individual, and every individual shall enjoy the prosperity of the country. We wish to substitute morality

for egotism, the contempt of vice for the contempt of misfortune, the love of glory for the love of money. In one word, we wish to fulfil the aims of nature, accomplish the destinies of humanity, keep the promises of philosophy, and absolve Providence from the long reign of crime and tyranny."

Such were the professions of these regenerators, who required a religion which should be at least consistent with their social codes. To frame this religion, Robespierre was selected. Absolutely destitute of every generous passion, having no weakness, and feeling no sympathy with any one, he seemed the very man cut out for such a task; for the ambition to see his ideas triumphant had ever been his supreme aim, pursued without genius, without grandeur of soul, without superior talents even, but with a fixity of purpose which nothing could unbend. He unfolded to the Convention his profession of faith in a speech, seasoned with the ideas of Rousseau, whose disciple he professed to be. The Convention applauded his words, and was condescendingly pleased to decree "that the French recognised the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul" (7th May).

Therefore a month after, on the 8th of June, old style (20th Prairial, new), Robespierre, in the feast to *l'Etre suprême*, inaugurated the new religion, of which henceforth he was the prophet. A structure of lath, plaster, and canvas, representing Atheism, Anarchy, and other vices, had been erected in Paris, plentifully besmeared with turpentine. Inside, rendered incombustible, was

the statue of Wisdom, which, by some machinery, was to rise from the flames. And so it was done as decreed; and not only the people, but Robespierre himself began to believe in his saintly sacerdotal work.

In this fresh capacity of the New Messiah of Mankind—such was the actual title which a set of fanatics, gathered around him had bestowed on him—he could not very well continue the slaughtering with which hitherto his name had been connected. Therefore, now that the resistance in the interior had been drowned in blood, the country saved from the foreigner, he and his party resolved to put an end to the Terror, and to establish the reign of virtue. With this intention Robespierre demanded the recall of Carrier (born 1756), who had committed many cruelties at Nantes, took under his protection the members of the Right, saved a great number of priests and nobles from outlawry and death, created a police opposing the operations of the Committee of General Safety, obtained the suppression of the Revolutionary tribunals in the departments, and hinted that those who had made the Revolution odious in the provinces should be punished.

These measures raised a terrible opposition. The representatives who had been sent to the provinces, and who had spilt blood like water; the numerous friends whom Danton had made in the Convention, all led by Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and others, united in secret against Robespierre. They feared being prosecuted, and deemed no sacrifice too great to avoid such a contingency. Though afraid, they openly sneered at Robespierre's

pretensions as a prophet; they also feared that this return to leniency would make the Revolution retrograde.

Though the struggle had not been declared as yet, every one felt that it was imminent, and two days after the pseudo-religious ceremony alluded to, the first symptoms broke forth. Without the other members of the Committee being apprised of it, Robespierre and Couthon (June 10th, 22nd of Prairial) presented to the Convention a bill to extend and accelerate the powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal. This bill proposed to divide the tribunal into four sections and the jury to be composed of sixty members. Its purpose was to punish the enemies of the nation. Among these enemies were comprised those who had caused the scarcity, given shelter to the conspirators, corrupted the patriots, abused the principles of the Revolution by unlawful application, discouraged the nation, spread false news, led public opinion astray, or depraved the morals. The penalty for each of these crimes was to be death. The proof necessary to such an accusation might vary from an inculpating document to a mere verbal assertion, provided it convinced a reasonable mind. The "yes" or "no" was to be left to the conscience of the jury; no witnesses were needed, defenders were abolished, preliminary investigation there was to be none. Last of all, it was said that there was a clause in this bill which proposed that the deputies, who hitherto could be tried only by the Convention, should henceforth be judged by the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the simple demand of three members of the Committee.

That the latter clause was intended as a snare for Robespierre's enemies there could be no doubt. As such the measure was received by the deputies with murmurs of disapproval and fear, one of them exclaiming, "If this become law, there remains nothing for us but to blow out our brains." An adjournment was about to be moved, but this not suiting Robespierre's plan, he persisted in having the matter discussed there and then, and by intimidating the deputies of the Plain, at all times pusillanimous, succeeded in having the decree passed within an hour of its first reading. But the next day some members, more afraid of the new law than of the Committee itself, returned to the assault, and, after a discussion which lasted several days, it was decreed by an amendment that the Convention should reserve to itself the right of arresting and trying its own members.

The failure of Robespierre's plot eventually proved his ruin. By his arrogance he had given umbrage to most of the deputies, who among each other accused him of aiming at a dictatorship. A circumstance, insignificant at any other moment, seemed to confirm them in their suspicion. We have already spoken of the title of the New Messiah of Mankind, given to Robespierre by a fanatical set gathered round him. An old woman, named Catherine Théot, aspired to be its prophetess. With her practised a *protégé* of Robespierre, an erewhile monk, Dom Gerle. The mysteries of the new religion were performed in a back slum of Paris, whence floated upon the capital the most absurd reports anent the "Mother of God," as the crone chose

to style herself. The Committee of Public Salvation believed, or feigned to believe, that she was the tool employed by Robespierre to accomplish his elevation. She and several of her accomplices were denounced and sent to prison. Robespierre vehemently protested against this, but was compelled to listen to the burlesqued report of the mysteries, and to see his proceedings of the religious ceremony of the 8th of June grossly caricatured, amidst the sneers and laughter of his colleagues. Stung to the quick, he absented himself for forty days from the Committee and from the Convention. He continued, however, to go to the Jacobins, from the tribune of which he fulminated against his opponents, thinking to ruin them by these means, as he had hitherto done. If anything, this was a new blunder, for the virtual dictatorship which he had obtained by the new law, was applied by his colleagues, and the various atrocities which were committed were placed at his door; the more so, as from a wish to use this law, not only against the remaining Hébertists and Dantonists, but also against those who resisted his plans and projects at dictatorship, Robespierre was for ever lauding it in the Jacobins, without endeavouring to modify its extravagance. He remained in direct communication with some of the most infamous chiefs of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and sent to the scaffold, with all her family, a young girl who had introduced herself into his house in order to see, as she expressed it, "what a tyrant looked like." Even if the girl's motive were assassination, as he pretended it was—

though she had left the means, two knives, in a basket in a neighbouring house—a magnanimous pardon would, in this instance, have been the best policy.

The Terror was at its height. From the prisons filled to overflow with more than ten thousand suspected, were selected at random fifty or sixty victims each day, who were butchered without the semblance of a trial, and whose identity was hardly ever attempted to be proved, so that the father was often mistaken for the son. One stereotyped pretext was thought sufficient justification—a conspiracy that had been discovered in the prisons. Pregnant women, children of sixteen were slaughtered alike, without discrimination. The last representatives of names, famous for the noblest deeds in French history, found themselves side by side with monsters whose vices were unredeemed by a single virtue. Women, young and old, greybeards and youths, Royalists and Republicans, nobles and plebeians, learned to die with a stoic indifference. Death became so habitual in this form, that the executioners deeming the impression too mild for due effect, proposed to erect the guillotine in the hall of the Convention, and to judge five hundred individuals per day, which proposal elicited the question of Collot-d'Herbois, "whether they wanted to demoralise the guillotine?"

The state of things became too terrible to last. The frenzy of the masses, the result of the threatened danger to the country, gradually abated; they no longer applauded the butcheries. Ready to sacrifice their property, their lives, when such sacrifices could be

useful, they began to grow weary of a terrorism, under which no life was secure, and pined for a return to the peaceful existence of civilisation. Humanity craved for mercy. The end of the Reign of Terror became inevitable, though every one knew that it could only be the result of a more terrific struggle between the triumvirate of Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just, and the Committees of Public Salvation and General Safety. Two opposing factions were organised, neither of which could count on a success without the oft-named party of moderation, the Right. Both these factions hatched conspiracies, the details of which must for ever remain more or less unknown, for the documents which could enlighten us have vanished, and its history was written only by the conquerors.

Robespierre grew each day more defiant and morose; he went nowhere but to the Jacobins, where he denounced every act of the Government, and depreciated even the victories of the army. His speeches were interwoven with complaints at being made odious in the eyes of the masses by massacres committed in his name, and he lukewarmly counselled the cessation of bloodshed. Outside the Jacobins he was supported by the Commune. Its mayor Fleuriot, its *procureur* Payan, and the commander of the sections, Henriot, were entirely devoted to him. He could also count on the Revolutionary Tribunal, packed with his own creatures, and on the suburbs, which continued to look upon him as the saviour of the Revolution. The Right side of the Convention, which he had bodily saved from

the scaffold, he naturally reckoned as his own. On the other hand his opponents Billaud, Collot, Vadier, the one who had burlesqued his religious speech, Tallien, Fouché, and others had enlisted into their party the moderate members of the two Committees, and nearly the whole of the Mountain, men honest and sincere, but offended at the excessive arrogance and religious ideas of Robespierre. They spread the most damaging rumours concerning their adversary, and accused him of the most cruel projects against the deputies, eighty of whom were so terror-stricken that they no longer thought it safe to spend the night under their own roofs. Before, however, deciding a final rupture, conciliatory measures were attempted on both sides, though some of them were scarcely less infamous than an open attack would have been. For instance, Barrère proposed delivering to Robespierre the whole of the remnant of the Dantonists, provided he would respect the members of the Committees. Saint-Just, in discussing the ultimate destiny of the Republic, dropped an expression, plainly revealing that the friends of Robespierre aimed at a dictatorship. No understanding could be arrived at, and Robespierre, tired of all these fruitless negotiations, resolved to lead the attack, misled by his contempt for his enemies and the hopes he built upon the co-operation of the Right; and this he did in spite of the subtler plans and counsels of Saint-Just, who was not deceived by the overweening vanity which made his chief think that a speech would suffice to ensure him the victory.

Robespierre's appearance in the tribune was an event, every one expecting a catastrophe (26th July). As usual, he began by complaining of the false reports circulated against him, then went on to criticise the way in which the finances of the State were managed, and to denounce the cruelties of the Committee of General Safety; he expatiated upon the intrigues of the two Committees tending to deprave the Government; and wound up by saying, "The affairs of the State are taking an alarming and demoralising aspect. There exists a plan to destroy the Revolutionary Government by seeking to render it odious through excess. Everywhere acts of oppression and tyranny have been multiplied to spread the system of terror and calumny; corrupted agents multiply unjust arrests, the nobles and priests are terrified by preconcerted measures; it is said that I wish to immolate the Mountain, and also to ruin the other party in the Convention." Much more of the same kind he argued in reply to imaginary accusations, and terminated with the question, "What is the remedy to all this evil?" He himself replied. "To punish the traitors, to purify the Committees of Public Salvation and of General Safety, and to constitute the unity of the Government under the supreme authority of the Convention."

To this old song, "the sounding-board has ceased to act.[1] There is no resonance in the Convention; there is, so to speak, a gasp of silence; nay, a certain grating

[1] Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, vol. iii., book vi., chap. vi.

of one knows not what!—When the grating articulates into speech, the outcome is the plain unvarnished truth that the Convention has been paralysed by one man, and that this man is Robespierre." "Let him say whether our names are on the list of the proscribed," inquires another deputy, alluding to a list found by accident in Robespierre's pockets. The upshot of this discussion is that Robespierre, thrown out of mental gear, retires embarrassed to the Jacobins, where he reads his speech to a more appreciative audience.

"This discourse is my last will," he somewhat prophetically remarks, for he cannot leave his theatrical tricks and prophesying alone, while his admirers exclaim that a new insurrection were about the best thing. But Robespierre perceives plainly enough that an insurrection in his favour is a thing of the past. Instead of a fresh revolt it is resolved that Saint-Just shall take up the cudgels in the Convention on the morrow, whilst the Commune shall hold itself in readiness for another 31st of May.

In the interval the Mountain does its utmost to vanquish the doubts and fears of the Right, using much specious argument, until the Right gives in and promises support. From this moment every party in the Convention was united against Robespierre, the accomplices of the Triumvirate were prepared against the Convention. During the night swift scouts are flying from one place to another. Henriot, the commander of the sections, Fleuriot, the Mayor of Paris, and Payan, the *Procureur* of the Commune, are taking their measures.

In the morning at an early hour the Convention is already assembled, one deputy encouraging another, and thankful that they have not been snatched from their beds. Robespierre has taken a chair in front of the tribune—some say with intent to intimidate—whilst Saint-Just is reading his report. But scarce has he begun when Tallien (1769–1820) an influential member of the Committee of General Safety, starts to his feet, and interrupts him. "Yesterday," he says, "a member of the Government has isolated himself from it, to-day another one wishes to do the same thing. There has been sufficient aggravation of the evils of the country; I demand that the curtain be entirely torn asunder." He is followed by Billaud, who, after accusing Robespierre of being the cause of all the crimes lately committed, holds up a dagger, and declares that if the Convention do not vote his arrest, he himself will stab the tyrant to the heart. Robespierre rushes to the tribune, but he is refused a hearing. The Convention declares itself permanent, decrees the arrest of Dumas, the president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, Henriot, and other creatures of Robespierre, makes the Paris Commune responsible for the public peace, and issues a proclamation to the people. In vain does Robespierre attempt to mount the steps of the tribune to address the deputies. His voice is drowned by the jingling of the bell of President Thuriot, by the hooting of the members, Saint-Just standing by pale-faced, his power of decision apparently gone. Tallien renews his accusations, Robespierre tries to answer, but the words

stick in his throat. For a moment he glances at the most violent of the Mountain, some turn away their heads, the others remain motionless. He invokes the assistance of the Plain, but it sits dumb. The yells continue, and there is a shout of "The blood of Danton is choking him." "You want to avenge Danton?" is the reply. "No more parleying, I demand the arrest of Robespierre," exclaims a deputy. "Let us vote! let us vote!" is the general cry, and, amidst much confusion, the deputy who has demanded the arrest declares that the majority has voted, and President Thuriot passes the decree.

"I demand to share my brother's fate, as I have striven to share his virtues," cries Augustin, Robespierre's younger brother. He has his wish, and so have Couthon, Saint-Just, and Lebas, though the first two did not ask for it. All five are brought down to the bar and transferred to the room of the Committee of General Safety.

Meanwhile, the news of the arrest has spread, and the General Council of the Commune and the Jacobins have declared themselves insurgent. Commandant Henriot, decreed arrested, but unarrested still, rushes through the streets, the alarm-bell sounds, drums beat, the Commune seems to be victorious. Henriot tries to penetrate to Robespierre, who is no longer in the Committee-room, but on his way to prison; but he is arrested himself. Within two hours he is delivered by Judge Coffinhal, and both ride away to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where sits Robespierre, not in prison, but free, in

company of members of the municipality and Jacobins —all the jailors of Paris having the previous evening received orders not to admit any prisoners that day.

The Convention, which had adjourned since five o'clock—it was now seven—assembled again. Full of terror at the position the Commune was usurping, it was deliberating upon the best measures of safety, when Coffinhal penetrates into the Tuileries with two hundred cannoneers, disperses the few guards, and orders his gunners to point their pieces against the palace. The Convention believes its last hour has come, when Collot, occupying the chair in the absence of Thuriot, puts on his hat, in sign of distress, and addresses the deputies: "Citizens, the hour is come to die at our post." "Yes, yes," is the cry on all sides. Henriot and the conspirators are outlawed, commissioners are sent to the sections, and Barras (1755–1829) is named commander of the armed forces, who there and then makes the Committees the centre of operations against the rebels.

Happily for the Convention, Henriot could not prevail upon his gunners to fire. All he could do was to drag them after him to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Their refusal decided the fate of the day. From that moment the Commune, on the point of triumph, saw its power decline. Not having succeeded in an instantaneous surprise, it was reduced to the slower measures of insurrection.

It was losing its time in deliberation, and Robespierre was unable to make up his mind. It was waiting for the arrival of the sections, which had already sworn

fidelity to the Convention, and were marching on the Hôtel-de-Ville. The Place de Grève was crowded by some companies of the sections, gunners, and the mob, the former uncertain what to do, having received no orders. Suddenly the news spreads that the sections have declared for the Convention, and that the Commune has been outlawed. The crowd disperses, in a few moments the open space is deserted. Henriot, coming down a short while after, sword in hand, to encourage his men, finds scarcely any one. "Is it possible," he exclaims, "these scoundrels of cannoneers, who saved my life five hours ago, have actually abandoned me?" Almost at the same time the troops of the Convention enter the square, silently occupy all its outlets, surround the Town-hall, and then, as with one pair of lungs, shout, "Long live the Convention!"

Henriot, half drunk, it is said, stumbles up-stairs, rushes into the room, with the cry of "All is lost!" His fellow-conspirator, Coffinhal, seeing the end has come, flings him out of a window below into unfinished masonwork and a cesspool, where he lies maimed and bleeding, and where the younger Robespierre follows him of his own free will, the Judge, after this exploit, making off as best he can. Saint-Just calls on Lebas to kill him, who prefers using a bullet for himself, and shoots himself dead on the spot. Couthon creeps under a table, and attempts to make an end to his life, but does not succeed. Robespierre, unsteady through emotion probably, fractures his jaw, but does not die then. Some would have it that a hussar, Méda, did the business for

him. The only one who remains intact for the guillotine is Saint-Just. The officers of the Convention enter, and find their task comparatively easy. Promptly, though not without trouble, the maimed conspirators are gathered, Henriot and Robespierre the younger fished up, "bleeding and foul." Before morning they are all safe under lock and key. Robespierre is temporarily laid in an ante-room of the Convention-hall, the deputies having refused to let the stretcher on which he was brought, enter their presence. There on a table, a deal box his pillow, the mangled jaw bound up with bloody linen, a spectacle to men he lies, exposed to the insults of his colleagues. He, however, does not answer a word, nor does he speak in this world again. He is taken to the Conciergerie, and afterwards before the Revolutionary Tribunal, where his trial and that of his accomplices is a mere formality. Having been declared outlaws, their identity has simply to be proved, and sentence pronounced. On the same day, 10th Thermidor (28th July), at five in the evening, Robespierre is placed on the tumbril, between Henriot and Couthon, almost as much mutilated as he, and in company of Saint-Just, Fleuriot, Payan, Dumas, and sixteen others. An immense crowd lines the streets and surrounds the cart, testifying the most expressive joy. The gendarmes point Robespierre out to the mob with their sabres. At the foot of the scaffold they stretch him out till his turn comes, for he is to be the last. When his head falls, a thundering applause rends the air, lasting for several minutes.

The next two days the defeat of the Commune was completed by the death of eighty-two of its members, individuals scarcely known, who were conducted, even without a trial, to the scaffold.

Posterity has scarcely judged Robespierre as yet. He was the cause of great evil, though it is probable that much of what others had done was attributed to him, nay, some of those who accomplished his ruin were more sanguinary than he was himself. He was an enthusiast, but honest. He left not a penny.

With him finished the Reign of Terror, though the Reign of Terror would have finished without him. The Revolution had reached the term of its interior elaboration, a new era was opening for it. Constituted from its origin to secure the emancipation of France, it was no longer content with this mission. It had acted on the defensive against old-fashioned Europe, but it intended now to take the offensive; from resistance it had passed to conquest. Hitherto men of words had occupied the foremost places, henceforth they would have to vacate the place for men of action, who were spreading their creed at the point of the sword.

CHAPTER II.

§ I.—THE REACTION.

(*From 28th July, 1794, to 26th October, 1795.*)

If proof were wanting of the truth of our last remarks, that the Reign of Terror would have come to an end without the death of Robespierre, and that a few of those who had contributed to his fall were more blamable than he, this proof will be shown in the subsequent events. Some members of the Convention had been clamouring, not so much against tyranny, but against the tyrant; the former might remain, provided its direction was entrusted to their hands. But as has been seen, the masses, nay, the very mob had in the last crisis, notwithstanding their partiality to Robespierre, sided with his opponents, because they believed that his overthrow would entail the death of the Revolutionary Government. This proved an unexpected revelation to the Committees who had destroyed Robespierre, as the latter had destroyed Danton, because he wished to modify and moderate the Revolution. Barrère, on the day after the death of Robespierre, announced to the Convention that the strength of the Revolutionary Government had increased a hundredfold by the fall of the tyrant who had obstructed its march; he asked that the Committees

should be purified, and undertake their duties with renewed energy; he demanded the continuance of all the Revolutionary decrees, and especially of the tribunal as it was then constituted, even with Fouquier-Tinville (born 1747) its bloodthirsty judge and president. The Terrorists and their doctrines, therefore, had survived Robespierre. But this time the nation interfered, and declared that the work of the previous two days had been accomplished with its co-operation, in the belief that it was meant against tyranny, and that this belief should be respected.

Barrère's proposals met with a bad reception on all sides. The Mountain united with the Plain in their wish for moderation, and by degrees the stronghold of the Revolutionary Government was dismantled. It was decreed (July and August) that a fourth of the members of the Committees should retire and be renewed each month; that the Committee of Public Salvation, into which six members of the Mountain had been introduced, should merely have the direction of military and diplomatic affairs; the law of the 22nd Prairial (10th June, 1794) against suspected persons was repealed; the number and power of the Revolutionary Committees was reduced; the Revolutionary Tribunal was reorganised on a more moderate system, its judges and jury changed; the Paris Commune was abolished, and the administration of the capital entrusted to a committee of police and one of finances, named by the Convention, and dependent on the Committees of Salvation and Safety; the forty *sous*

hitherto paid to the members of the sections were suppressed, the prices of provisions were modified, and the requisitions of the Government for men and money limited; commissioners were sent into the departments to purify the administrations, to repress the Terrorists, and deliver the suspected; those representatives who had spread blood and fire in the Vendée and elsewhere were recalled; an amnesty was offered to the remainder of the rebels; the prisons were visited and emptied by several members of the Convention, amongst whom was Legendre, who had forcibly shut up the club of the Jacobins on the night of the revolt, and thrown the key on the table of the Convention. Eight days later there was not a suspected person left in the ten prisons which had hitherto been crowded.

This leniency was likely to lead to a reaction in an opposite direction. Girondins, Feuillants, and Royalists, lifted up their heads and began to clamour for vengeance against the trail of the serpent left by Robespierre. A journal edited by Fréron openly counselled the youth of France to avenge the aged, the women, and children who had perished, by exterminating the assassins. The appeal was but too readily listened to by the young men whose families had been the victims of the Terror, and who eagerly wished for a return of the *ancien régime*, more suitable to their tastes than a democracy which had systematically banished all attempts at frivolity and so-called refinement, and which constantly required sacrifices at their hands. They became guilty of not only the most

absurd, but of the most outrageous attacks upon the erewhile agents of the Terror and the working classes of the suburbs. Their extravagances in dress and behaviour were countenanced in the salons which had again opened their doors, chiefly under the auspices of the widow of General Beauharnais, afterwards the first wife of Napoleon, and under those of Madame de Fontenay. The latter had, from her prison, instigated Tallien, afterwards her husband, to the measures which eventually led to the death of Robespierre. In commemoration of this event she was sometimes called "Our Lady of Thermidor." These cliques, it is true, brought back all the arts and festivities which the Revolution had banished, but they also brought back customs which justified the epithet of "rotten" Robespierre had given them before his fall.

A minority protested against this reaction. It was composed of those honest men of the Mountain who had overthrown Robespierre, because they believed him guilty of aiming at a dictatorship, but who now with regret saw Royalism becoming rampant; it was largely increased by the members of the former Committees, who now had but one centre, the club of the Jacobins, whence issued daily complaints against the measures taken by the aristocrats. That club was a Revolutionary hotbed still, though much of its former power was gone. "The lion is not dead because he sleeps," said Billaud, "and at his awakening he will exterminate all his enemies." Barrère, Vadier, and others were also of this opinion, so that the Convention did not deem itself safe as long as

the Jacobins existed. In this emergency they were much assisted by the "gilded youth"—such was the name the young Royalists had adopted—who waged an implacable war against the clubs. At last the Convention declared the affiliations of this club and its correspondence with the provinces illegal, and this being one of the secrets of the strength of the Jacobins, it had one or more hand-to-hand struggles with the "gilded youth," and then closed its portals altogether and for ever.

Its disappearance was hailed with applause through the length and breadth of France. Henceforth the return of the Terror was deemed impossible. On this account the reaction became the stronger. From things it applied to individuals. The Convention recalled the seventy-three proscribed deputies (8th December), and they, on their return, doubled the strength of the reactionary party. It decreed that the outlawed Girondins should not be prosecuted. It demanded an account of all the acts of the Revolutionary Committees, ordered the arrest of Fouquier-Tinville, Joseph Lebon, and of the painter David (1748–1825), who had been one of Robespierre's most fanatic partisans, moved for an investigation into the conduct of Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, and indicted Carrier and the Revolutionary Committee at Nantes.

Carrier's trial caused the greatest sensation. The disclosures of his cruelties not only raised a cry of horror against the man, but against the system of which he had been one of the chief instruments. It

was at best ill-advised to rake up old grievances, but it seemed to be done less for the purpose of bringing matters into their former legal channels than with the aim of discrediting, and by discrediting, abolishing the Revolution. Besides, all had played a more or less important part in these Republican violences; as Carrier himself said, "the very bell of the president is guilty." His defence, more than plausible, availed him not, however. He and two of his accomplices were condemned to death and executed (25th December).

By many, but especially by the Mountain, his death was regarded as a beginning of reprisals against the men who in reality had saved France. The Royalists, emboldened, began to clamour for national vengeance against the followers of Robespierre, thinking by these means to make the Revolutionists destroy each other. Misled by these clamours, but thinking to act for the best, the Convention proclaimed toleration for all creeds, with the proviso that none of its teachers should be salaried by the State, and that all outward emblems of religion should be abolished. It did away with a fixed price for provisions and with requisitions. The refractory priests, having obtained this much, endeavoured to get more. The free circulation of specie hastened to decrease the value of the *assignats*, the suppression of a fixed price for provisions caused a temporary rise, and France became a prey to a fictitious dearth, aggravated by one of the severest winters on record. The populace, half-starved, rushed to the Convention, threatened a revolt, and boldly said that they regretted their

sacrifices to the Revolution. A stupor and anarchy equally dangerous had fallen upon the Government. They fixed the quantity of bread and meat which should be daily sold to each individual—a measure that was easily avoided by the rich.

Amidst all this the Convention endeavoured to reinstate a taste for industry and agriculture, by projecting several useful public works, by the opening of the Normal and other schools, the reorganisation of the Academy, by the establishment of the Museum, of the Conservatoire of Arts and Trades, and by the taking of many similar useful measures. In politics, however, its fears of a return to the Reign of Terror, and of the revolts of the populace, attributed to the secret machinations of the dispersed Jacobins, made it violent and prejudiced where it wanted to be just and conciliating. It decreed the arrest of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère; whilst the recalled Girondins, as soon as they were readmitted, began to plot against the Mountain, by placing themselves at the head of the counter-Revolution.

While the Revolution was about being compromised in the interior, it was rendered abroad more imposing than ever by its conquests. The reaction of the 10th of Thermidor was unshared by the armies; that of the North abated not one iota of its Revolutionary ardour, though it was in consternation at Robespierre's death. It saw itself reduced to starvation by the intriguing administrators who had succeeded Prieur and Robert Lindet. At first its military operations were much hampered by this dearth. Though superior in numbers to its

adversaries, the Austrians, it allowed six weeks to pass in idleness, giving its enemies an opportunity of recovering from their losses. Only after this it resumed the offensive.

In Holland, the English were beaten on all sides, the Duke of York being compelled to take up a position behind the Waal. The French soldiers, starving and scarcely clothed, were nevertheless everywhere victorious, forcing the Dutch Stadthouder to abdicate, and penetrating finally as far as Amsterdam (20th January, 1795). The Dutch, though invaded, beheld with wonder ten battalions of Frenchmen, shoeless, stockingless, destitute of the most indispensable clothing, forced to hide their nakedness with garments made of straw, enter triumphantly within their walls to the sound of warlike strains, and then quietly stacking their arms, bivouac patiently in the public squares amidst ice and snow, until food, raiment, and shelter could be provided for them.

The army of Italy, about to march on Turin, according to a plan of Bonaparte, drew back in confusion at the news of Robespierre's death, merely assuming the defensive on the Col de Tende, for it imagined that France was lost. When, however, the Allies wanted to take advantage of this temporary discouragement by surprising Savona, they were beaten at Carcara (15th September, 1794), and thrown back on the Bormida, while the French secured their positions by the taking of Vado. The rest of the campaign passed in unimportant hostilities.

In the Eastern Pyrenees success had also crowned the French arms during the latter part of 1794, while in the Western, the troops, after much hard fighting, prepared to take up their winter quarters at San Sebastian and Tolosa.

The many successes gained in the exterior were completed by less dazzling, but no less important, advantages over the enemies of the interior. Since the defeat at Savenay, the Vendée was no longer the scene of grand operations, but of brigandage and atrocities without result. The peasants, though detesting the Revolution, were anxious for peace; but, as there were still two chiefs, Charette and Stofflet, in the field, who hated each other, this wish could scarcely be gratified. General Thureau, sent by the former Revolutionary Committee, had but increased this detestation by allowing pillage and incendiarism. After the death of Robespierre he was replaced by General Clancaux, who had orders to employ more conciliatory measures.

The defeat of the rebel troops at Savenay, and their subsequent dispersion, had led to a kind of guerilla warfare throughout the whole of Brittany, known by the name of *chouannerie*. The Chouans attacked the public conveyances, invested the high roads, murdered isolated bands of soldiers and functionaries. Their chiefs were Scepeaux, Bourmont, Cadoudal, but especially Puisaye (1754–1827) formerly general of the Girondins, and who wanted to raise a more formidable insurrection than had hitherto been organised. Against them was sent Hoche, who accustomed his soldiers to

pacify rather than destroy, and taught them to respect the habits, but above all the religion of the inhabitants.

After some difficult negotiations with Charette peace was concluded (15th February), but the suppression of the Chouans was more difficult still, and Hoche (1768–1797) displayed in this ungrateful mission all the talents and humanity for which he was ever celebrated. Puisaye himself was in England, having obtained Pitt's promise of a fleet and an army, but his aide-de-camp concluded in his absence a treaty similar to that of Charette (born 1763). Stofflet surrendered the last. Not much dependence could be placed on either of these pacifications, Charette himself having confessed in a letter to the Count de Provence that they were but a trap for the Republicans; but they proved useful nevertheless, by accustoming the country to peace.

The Coalition, awe-struck at the advantages gained by the Revolution, the conquests of Holland, Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, a part of Piedmont, Catalonia, and Navarre, took its revenge on Poland, whose geographical existence henceforth became merely a name. It was partitioned among Austria, Prussia, and Russia, all three taking their share of the spoil of a nation which had shown herself incapable of framing an enlightened and durable constitution, and of governing the country.

The end of the Reign of Terror, the conquest of Holland, the pacification of the Vendée, had inspired the enemies of France with a hitherto unknown respect for the Revolution, which had become so powerful that it

could withstand all attempts to overthrow it. Most of the Allies sought pretexts to abandon the coalition. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was the first to treat with France, after which he declared himself neutral, and sent an ambassador to Paris (9th February). Then followed the United Provinces, who obtained their peace and declaration of independence (16th May) on somewhat onerous conditions, and had to abandon the North of Flanders, Venloo, Maestricht, and to grant the French the right of garrisoning Grave, Bois-le-Duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Flushing. They had also to declare the navigation on the rivers free, to pay an indemnity of a hundred millions of florins, to conclude an offensive treaty against England, and to place at the disposal of France thirty frigates and twenty-five thousand troops. Last of all, the sovereign who commenced the invasion of France, the King of Prussia, made peace on the most humiliating terms (5th April); and this aroused the indignation of the Coalition, especially when his example was followed by the King of Spain, Charles IV., who, at the end of his financial resources, and seeing the road to his capital threatened by the Republican troops, feared the fate of Holland, as the reward of his alliance with England. At first, the negotiations dragged somewhat, inasmuch as the Spanish sovereign demanded the freedom of the two children of Louis XVI., hitherto forgotten and neglected in the prison of the Temple, but the death (8th June) of the unfortunate Louis XVII. (born 1785), in consequence of the cruel treatment of his keeper, a monster in human form, facilitated further progress. A treaty

was concluded at Bale (14th July), by which Spain regained all her possessions, and lost only the Spanish part of St. Domingo. An offensive and defensive alliance against England was entered into with the object of freeing the Mediterranean from the English fleet, and Italy from Austrian troops.

Spain and Prussia having given the example, the smaller states also sought peace by casting the blame of the hostilities on England and Austria. Saxony, the two Hesses, and Hanover joined Prussia in her neutrality; the German Diet demanded of the Emperor that peace should be restored; the court of Portugal confessed that it had joined the coalition at the instigation of England; that of Naples whined for mercy by appealing to the Republic in favour of the small powers dragged into war against their will; the Duke of Parma and the Pope declared that they had never been the enemies of France.

Revolutionary France was acknowledged, and the much-vaunted crusade of the crowned heads reduced to the proportions of an ordinary war with England and Austria. This war, sustained chiefly by Pitt, if causing harm to France, caused nearly as much harm to England; and the latter country began indeed to be indignant at the enormous subsidies which had been pocketed by Prussia, and to murmur at the press-gangs.

Pitt had miscalculated the strength of the Revolution, as Lord Malmesbury found to his cost, when the French Government, instead of accepting the humiliating terms of which he was the bearer, ordered him to leave Paris

within four-and-twenty hours—a double insult to the prime minister, who did not wish for peace, "and who made war by ever employing the same unsuccessful means—a blind lavishing of money. He had been lavish of it to Prussia, and now he was profusely spending it on Austria, so that the latter might furnish new food for cannon to Bonaparte, to this terrible sword, thirsting for blood!"[1]

But the great danger for France did not proceed from what Pitt might or could do, but from the interior. Since the Girondins had regained some of their power, they had systematically plotted to efface the Thermidorians—a name given to those who had planned the revolution of Thermidor and the fall of Robespierre. The Right had taken possession of the Government Committees. One of their members, Aubry, had replaced Carnot, and was infusing the reaction into the army, by planning the most imbecile and even treacherous campaigns, by substituting Royalist for Republican generals, and by dismissing Bonaparte on account of his Republican opinions. A Royalist agency was established in Paris, which received its orders from the Pretender, and corresponded with the *émigrés*, the Vendée, and the south. The sectional assemblies became filled with orators who lauded to the skies the erewhile proscribed seventy-three deputies, and who in their threats and insults confounded the Thermidorians and the Mountain. The press treated

[1] Michelet, *Histoire du XIX. siècle*, vol. ii., bk. i., chap. 5.

the Revolution as a Utopian apocalypse of five years' duration, but which had now vanished. The national domains remained unsold, speculation in everything, but mostly in objects of prime necessity, reached an unknown height. Famine increased, the daily rations were fixed at three ounces of bread and four ounces of meat per head. "On the Pont au Change, on the Place de Grève, in a long shed, in these summer evenings, I saw working men at their repast," says Mercier. "Plates containing each three grilled herrings, sprinkled with shorn onions, wetted with a little vinegar, to this add some morsel of boiled prunes, and lentils swimming in a clear sauce: at these frugal tables, the cook's gridiron hissing near by, and the pot simmering on a fire between two stones, I have seen them ranged by the hundred; consuming, without bread, their scant messes, far too moderate for the keenness of their appetite and the extent of their stomach. Seine water, rushing plenteous by, will supply the deficiency." [1] And what was worse, this scarcity was fictitious. The people scarcely needed the firebrand speeches of those dismissed from the Government, and of the former Jacobins, whose fury was aggravated by the proposed prosecution of Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and Barrère.

For, whatever their faults may have been, the new Government, in prosecuting these three, was virtually condemning the entire Revolutionary principle, and Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur were not wrong in

[1] Mercier, *Nouveau Paris*, quoted by Carlyle.

demanding to be prosecuted also, though they confessed that it was a sad spectacle to see subject to such an unjust trial three individuals who, hitherto obscure, had, in common with their courageous colleagues, borne, without flinching, for fifteen months, the brunt of a struggle against the collected powers of Europe, a struggle memorable ever afterwards.

None were more rejoiced at the vehement agitation which these discussions provoked than the aristocrats. They saw the Revolution accused by the Revolutionists, and compelled, in order to justify itself, to make the most odious revelations; the patriots incited the mob to march to the Convention, to demand bread, the Constitution of 1793, and the liberation of the accused; which they did on the 1st of April, 1795, bread having failed altogether on that day. They were dispersed, however, with scarcely a struggle.

The Convention, taking this as a pretext, immediately decreed that "the three brigands" and another Jacobin should be transported that very night without the formality of a trial. Seven deputies who had declared in favour of the people were arrested, and Paris was proclaimed in a state of siege. On the following days the Convention went further still, in ordering the arrest of nine members of the Mountain; the disarming of every one who had taken part in the Revolution of the ninth of Thermidor; the reorganisation of the National Guards on the basis of 1789; the restitution of all confiscated property to those condemned for other causes than emigration; the definite suppression of the

Revolutionary Tribunal; and last of all the appointment of a committee of twelve members, all Girondins, to frame a new Constitution, "the one of 1793 having been acknowledged as impracticable."

This latter blow fell most severely on the Jacobins, who still built their hopes on the Constitution of 1793, and who openly accused the Convention of apostacy. The Royalists, on the other hand, saw in the new Constitution the realisation of their fondest wishes, hoping that some monarchical clause would be introduced and enable them to bring about a counter-Revolution by means of the Constitution itself. Growing bolder each day, some *émigrés* entered France with forged passports, while others, establishing themselves on the Swiss frontiers, openly announced their approaching return; the refractory clergy began to spread disaffection in the provinces, the administrations to be crowded by Royalists and Girondins, who made the decrees of the Convention a pretext to disarm and persecute the reputed Terrorists. In the south societies were formed whose members murdered the patriots in their own houses and on the highways. At Lyons the prisons were broken into and ninety prisoners, after being assassinated, thrown into the Rhone (9th May).

The severity of the Convention did not decrease the popular agitation, provoked by a more material and permanent grievance—hunger. The daily rations had dwindled down to an ounce and a half of bread. The streets resounded with the cries of the famished.

In such a state of things another Revolution became almost a matter of course, and its advent was accelerated by the execution of Fouquier-Tinville and of fifteen judges or jurymen of the Revolutionary Tribunal. A manifesto promulgated by some obscure individuals demanded, among various other things, the revival of the Constitution of 1793, and the re-establishment of a fixed price for provisions; but the disaffected party had no organised existence, nor could it come to an understanding with the rest of the Mountain, which alone could have given it a leader and secured success for its efforts.

The suburbs revolted against the Convention on the 20th of May (1st of Prairial), and though sufficiently vehement in their first outburst, and though the insurrection lasted for three days, it was easily suppressed, and led to nothing, for it had not the support of an all-powerful Commune, neither was it directed by one general, nor did it meet with a terror-stricken Convention and submissive sections. Henceforth the democratical party lost the only means of intimidation left to it, the physical strength of the multitude, which had proved useless unless directed by determined leaders, and backed by a certain authority, howsoever ill-founded.

The Convention consolidated itself by the most energetic measures. Eight deputies of the Mountain were arraigned before a military committee, and six were condemned to death. They all endeavoured to stab themselves, but only three succeeded; the others perished on the scaffold. Thirty deputies were

also arrested. The Girondins and Royalists did for the Mountain what the latter had attempted to do for them, namely, deprive them of all participation in the government, either by death or transportation. At last, of all the members of these famous Committees of Public Salvation and General Safety there remained but two at large, the rest had been guillotined, transported, or imprisoned. The gendarmerie was disbanded, the cannon taken away from the National Guard, from which every working man was expelled, a camp of artillery and cavalry was established in the plain of the Sablons, and Paris occupied by troops of the line, beheld a garrison such as it had not seen since 1789. More than ten thousand patriots were incarcerated within ten days.

Thus the multitude was deprived at one blow of all power, a proceeding the more easily accomplished as its most turbulent elements had died on the battle-fields. The Revolution was now left in the hands of the middle classes, who were without much difficulty persuaded by the Royalists to attempt a return to the *ancien régime*. In reality, these classes were somewhat afraid of the Republic, which, in their honest but narrow minds, was associated with the latter and terrible times. Reprisals, not only against the Jacobins, but against all those who had governed, administered, or contributed in any way to the success of the Revolution, were openly concocted by the Royalists, who, "to avenge France for the past Terror formed a new one more odious, more atrocious, without any other motive than this very

revenge." "The tricolour cockade has in the South become the signal for persecution and death," said Barras. The atrocities performed by the counter-Revolutionists in the provinces differed in no way from those of the Jacobins, save in their being more secretly committed. To this, and to this alone, may be attributed the lesser measure of obloquy they have received from posterity, for, if anything, they were more bloody and scarcely as legitimate as the others.

Far from punishing these crimes, the Convention became an accomplice of them, by admitting in their midst the Royalists, who had even partisans in the Committees, and were already openly arranging for a return of Louis XVIII., and discussing the details of his coronation. They could do this with the more safety, since their so-called foreign allies had evacuated French territory, and they had no longer to reckon upon aid from without. They now organised a triple attack — in the east through the treachery of the army of the Rhine; in the west, by a landing in the Vendée; in Paris, through the sections, which were now entirely swayed by the Royalists. At the same time, Pitt was the Midas who was to set the modern Pactolus flowing through the midst of this league.

The influence of the relaxation of power was making itself most severely felt in the military operations; the troops were disorganised, a prey to the most profound misery, and materially reduced through the desertion of nearly a fourth of their numbers. An unsuccessful

naval engagement with the English fleet, in an attempt to land some troops on the coast of Corsica had been fought near the isles of Hyères. The army of Italy, after various battles, was compelled to evacuate Final, Loano, and Voltri, and to retreat to the Taggia. The taking of Luxembourg was the only success in the north. The investment of Mayence continued, but the troops were obliged to remain inactive for want of pontoon-bridges and other necessaries, withheld from them through the malversations of Aubry. The Austrian troops, under Wurmser and Clairfait, preferred to wait instead of giving battle, confident that the intrigues of the interior would open Alsace to them, and relieve Mayence. Pichegru, wealthy and dissolute, commanding the division of the Rhine and the Moselle, believing the Republic ruined, allowed himself to be seduced by the Prince de Condé to march on Paris; but his negotiations being interrupted by the successes of one of his generals, he was obliged, against his will, to take the offensive against the Austrians, and allowed himself to be beaten in order to give Clairfait an opportunity of effecting a junction with his brother general and make himself master of Heidelberg. After this Pichegru concluded an armistice (31st December), but having awakened the suspicions of the Government, he was deposed from his command.

Meanwhile the Vendée and Brittany threatened to take up arms once more. Fortunately, the leaders directing the two parties were at enmity with each other, and the brave General Hoche, knowing this,

rendered abortive the attempts of those who were inspired from Paris, by arresting Cormatin, the coadjutor of Stofflet (born 1751), and by having the latter watched.

The conspiracy organised in London by Puisaye, assisted and subsidised by Pitt, was more formidable, however. It had fitted out a fleet, which harassed the French naval squadron, and then set sail for Brittany, where the expedition made itself master of the peninsula of Quiberon and the fort Penthièvre (27th June). The Brittany peasants, suspicious of the Vendeans and hating the English, did not respond to the call for revolt, and occasioned a loss of time to the invaders, of which Hoche took advantage to bring together his troops and to march on Quiberon, where he defeated the vanguard of the *émigrés*, and surrounded them in the peninsula. Puisaye attempted to crush Hoche by an attack in the rear, but was eventually out-manœuvred, Fort Penthièvre was scaled during the night, and the *émigrés* were routed; whilst the English squadron was caught in a hurricane and could not come to their assistance, save with one ship, which fired indiscriminately on friend and foe alike. Most of the Royalists rushed into the sea, where nearly all of them perished. Scarcely a thousand men remained, and these fought heroically. It is said that a promise was given to them that if they surrendered their lives should be spared, and, accordingly, seven hundred and eleven laid down their arms (21st July).

By order of the Convention—which by this time having its eyes opened to the tactics of the Royalists,

had, through the Thermidorians, again allied itself to the Mountain—these seven hundred and eleven *émigrés*, were shot. Tallien, the bearer of the order, notwithstanding his secret communications with the Pretender, could but say:—"We must strike terror into the breasts of the Royalists, unless we wish to see the counter-Revolution constitutionally established in less than three months." From his camp at Belleville, Charette, one of the insurgent generals, responded to this execution by the massacre of two thousand Republican prisoners.

The Royalists were, however, not intimidated. When everything failed them, they resolved to accomplish the counter-Revolution by means of the Convention and the Parisians themselves. In the former they had many partisans, besides the seventy-three recalled deputies, amongst whom Lanjuinais, Boissy-d'Anglas, and Cambacérès were the best known. The sections had become the hotbeds of the Royalist conspiracy to such an extent that the principal envoy of the Pretender at the Paris agency wrote, "The sections may become the point of union for the whole of France. . . . The sections and Charette will repair our misfortunes. . . . The dominant party in the Convention wishes to re-establish Royalty—I am certain of it."

But whatever the hopes of the Royalists may have been, they were doomed to disappointment, through the proposed new Republican Constitution (22nd August), the work of the Girondins, and principally that of Daunou (1761–1840), one of the most beautiful characters of the Revolution. In this Constitution the

legislative power was vested in two councils, one of 500 members thirty years old, the other of 250 of forty years of age, and called "Ancients," elected by delegates, themselves chosen by all active citizens,[1] in what were called primary assemblies. A third of the members were to retire, and to be renewed, each year. The first of these councils had the preparing, the second the sanctioning of the laws; the latter, in addition to this, could change the habitat of the Legislature and Government. The executive was confided to a directory of five members, one of whom was to be replaced each year. The press and all religious worships were free, popular societies were abolished, the law against the *émigrés* was declared irrevocable.

This Constitution, which was to reinstate the masses and give the Government to the middle classes, was adopted by the Convention; whilst the Royalists thought to make it the instrument of overturning the Republic. They imagined that the middle classes being weary of the Republic, which was synonymous to them with the Reign of Terror, and the masses being disgusted with the results of political agitation, would leave the field free to them. But the Convention, forewarned by the disastrous results of such leniency, would not entrust the life of the Constitution save to the Convention itself. It decreed that the new legislative Assembly was bound to have two-thirds of its members chosen from among the deputies of the Convention, that the choice of the other third should remain with the

[1] See book i., chap. ii., sec. 2, p. 134

electors, and in case of refusal, with the Convention; lastly, that this additional decree, as well as the new Constitution, should be submitted for approval to the primary assemblies.

This decree drove the Royalists to despair; their journals, taking a new cue, accused the Convention of wishing to perpetuate its dictatorship, and of subverting the supremacy of the people, whose champions the conspirators now pretended to be. No definite form of Government was mentioned by them or their partisans, but the legitimate King was present to their minds, though his name was never uttered or printed. The Pretender's emissaries incited the ringleaders to an open resistance; their war-cry became "No Convention," and their hopes centred in a possible *coup d'état*. They had expelled all the patriots from the Paris sections, which had been already changed into primary assemblies; but with the exception of one, all accepted the Constitution, but rejected the additional decree. The provinces, eager for peace, under whatever government, did not follow the capital's example, as had been their custom hitherto, but accepted both Constitution and decree by an overwhelming majority, upon which the Convention hastened to proclaim its victory (23rd Sept.).

No other resource was left to the Royalists but an insurrection, which they prepared with vigour, calling to Paris many *émigrés* and *chouans*, whilst intimidating the ordinary narrow-minded citizens with the scarecrow of another Reign of Terror. Their first attempts having been frustrated, the Convention in-

voked the aid of their erewhile greatest foes, the Jacobins. The sections pretended to be terrified at the supposed return of the Reign of Terror, declared themselves absolved from obeying the commands of the Convention, and called the citizens to arms. The Convention declared itself permanent, and despatched Menou to quell the tumult by disarming the section Lepelletier, the centre of the movement. That General, however, shared the opinion of the insurgents, and instead of employing the four thousand troops under his command, he contented himself with negotiations, and withdrew his soldiers, on the promise of the sections to disperse. The latter mistook the import of this by believing that a hostile demonstration would be sufficient to dethrone the Convention. Menou was, however, dismissed, and in his stead the Convention appointed Barras, the general of the 9th Thermidor. The latter took for his second in command Bonaparte, who, since his deposition, had been employed in the ministry of War. The young energetic soldier took his measures at once. He transformed the Tuileries a few hours after receiving his command into a vast camp for his nine thousand troops, made up of six thousand regulars, the rest patriots and citizens of the suburbs who sided with the Convention. He had taken care to bring thirty cannon from the Sablons camp, the ordnance being destined to play an important part in the engagement, as the Parisians had no artillery.

The drums had been beating to arms [illegible] two columns, composed of between twenty

thousand men, taken from the thirty-two sections, advanced from two different points on the Tuileries; the masses, unlike their former custom, taking no part in the struggle, but remaining passive spectators. A provisional government had been formed at the section Lepelletier, which declared the Committees outlawed, took possession of the provisions and arms intended for the Convention, called the neighbouring towns to its aid, and appointed as commanders Danican and Lafond, the first a dismissed Republican general, the second an old colonel of the guard of Louis XVI. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon, on the 6th of October (13th of Vendémiaire), that the battle began. The onslaught of the sections was at first so severe, that the Republicans had to fall back upon the Tuileries, to escape from the musketry fire that poured down upon them from the neighbouring houses, and pursued them even into the gardens. But Bonaparte appeared on the scene, with Barras and four other representatives, and rallied the troops. They swept everything in front of them. Another insurrectionary column, advancing from the Faubourg St. Germain, reached no farther than the Pont Royal, where they found themselves confronted by four pieces of artillery, mowing them down wholesale, the survivors taking to their heels. Towards nine o'clock in the evening the revolt was [illegible]ally quelled, the Convention having been sitting [illegible]time, and displaying an admirable and dignified [illegible]ughout. This time the Revolution, en- [illegible] more by the lukewarmness of the middle

classes, had been saved by the energetic behaviour of the troops of the line. The regulars had conquered the National Guard; a military Government might be foreseen from this. With it stood out Bonaparte, who henceforth was to become the incarnation of that Government, and who in less than a month after the victory of the Convention was promoted to be General of the army of the interior.

The Convention behaved with remarkable leniency towards the sections, simply disarming them, and disbanding the select troops of the National Guard. The prisoners escaped by its connivance, with the exception of Lafond, and another Royalist, who were shot. Some measures, had, however, to be taken against the growing boldness of the Royalist plots, as a correspondence with the Pretender had been discovered, in which Pichegru, Cambacérès, Tallien, and several other deputies were compromised. Above all a counter-Revolution had to be guarded against. Two Thermidorian deputies, convicted of complicity in the late revolt, were imprisoned, and the former Minister for War, Aubry, accused of having favoured the operations of the enemy, was outlawed. Moreover, the relatives of all *émigrés* were decreed ineligible to any public functions, the laws against the refractory priests were renewed, the officers deposed by Aubry reinstated, the patriot prisoners set at large. The Royalists were thoroughly beaten, and the Jacobins equally so, though they were reluctant to confess it All the stringent measures against them remained in

force, the Convention rejected even the appeal of Joseph Lebon, who had been condemned to death at Amiens. The elections being completed, the Convention, after organising public instruction, the national *fêtes*, the courts of appeal, after promulgating the laws against the *émigrés*, and proclaiming an amnesty for all other political crimes or offences, declared its mission finished (26th Oct.).

Book III.

THE DIRECTORY.

CHAPTER I.

§ I.—A NEW GOVERNMENT.

(From the 27th October, 1795, to the 10th December, 1797.)

At the dissolution of the Convention her five hundred re-elected members immediately joined their two hundred and fifty new colleagues, divided, according to their age, into two councils,—that of the Ancients, which held its sittings in the Tuileries; and that of the Five Hundred which assembled in the Riding School. The latter submitted a list of fifty candidates, from among whom the former selected five directors, men distinguished for their marked Revolutionary opinions, it having been decided secretly beforehand that only such should be chosen. They were Lareveillère-Lépeaux, Rewbell, Letourneur (de la Manche), Barras, and Siéyès. The last, on declining the honour, was replaced by Carnot.

Save one, Barras, the new directors were sincere Republicans, entering upon their duties with the most laudable devotion. They divided the work; Lareveillère took the portfolios of the interior and justice; Rewbell that of foreign affairs; Carnot that of war; Letourneur

that of the navy, and Barras that of the police. The finances were to be under their united management. Each had a secretary adjoined to him. France was then in a most deplorable condition: famine and scarcity of money were everywhere; desertion reigned in the army; the treasury was exhausted. The paper money had become almost absolutely worthless, and the Government had seen itself reduced. to circulate a fresh issue nearly each month. The three thousand millions of *assignats* which the Directory on its accession brought into the market scarcely realised five-and-twenty million francs. To enhance the value of the *assignats* was impossible, for the national property, of which they were supposed to be the equivalent, had been left unsold. Nor could repudiation well be resorted to. In this emergency several measures were attempted with more or less success, and in a half-hearted way, rendering the finances one of the principal difficulties of the present administration.

Though most of the proposed measures excited animated discussions between the Directory and the Councils, the latter showed themselves at all times disposed to strengthen the Government and supply it with the means of carrying out its acts. With their concurrence several salutary decrees were passed, and this, with the return of specie, which the Directory effected at last by means of an ingenious and successful device, contributed much to bring back order and prosperity. Commerce revived, famine ceased, bread and meat were no longer doled out in rations. Every one seemed to work

with a will to repair the losses caused by the Revolution. Political passions were slumbering if not dead, a more rational view as to a perfect state of society took the place of wild Utopian dreams; absolute liberty was found to be impossible; hence the Directory was accepted as a compromise between all parties, tolerated for fear of something worse in the shape of either alternative, a Reign of Terror or a monarchical despotism, for as yet no third contingency—a military autocracy—was dreamed of. Most people were profoundly indifferent save to their personal interests, as for everything else the evil of the day was sufficient.

Beneath this universal apathy, the two great parties which had agitated France for the last six years, the partisans of a Monarchy and the Republicans existed still, above all in the Councils. The Republicans were thoroughly devoted to their principles, ready to sacrifice even the Constitution to them. Chiefly composed of former members of the Convention, and of a remnant of the Mountain, whose aim was the destruction of the actual state of things, the revival of mob law, and the Constitution of 1793, they confronted the Monarchists, who had arrogated to themselves the title of Constitutionalists, professed to be the champions of legality, and wished to appear more liberal than the men of the Revolution. In various ways, without avowing open relations with the Bourbons, they plotted for their restoration. They were a mixture of old Girondins and members of the Plain, recruited

by the newly elected deputies, who boasted that they had remained strangers to the excesses of the Revolution, and looked down upon their instigators with undisguised contempt. Having the middle classes for their mainstay, this party was very powerful, and they appeared to have stepped into power as a natural concomitant of the reaction of Thermidor, and also because it had several eminent men at its head. They were supported by the Royalists pure and simple, who openly worked for the Royal family. The Republicans had constantly to be on their guard against them, and, not very successfully, for the ninth of Thermidor had alienated the support of the people, and the Jacobins were too dangerous to be used as tools, and were henceforth nothing more than a desperate sect of obscure and compromised individuals. The Royalists, notwithstanding their reverses, had lost nothing of their audacity, which had already stood them in good stead in their successful efforts to modify the laws on the *émigrés*, and in procuring an amnesty for the conspirators of Vendémiaire, and the acquittal of the deputies guilty of the massacres in the south.

The Directory, hating the Royalists, and afraid of the Jacobins, followed the system of political see-saw which the Convention had employed to such advantage the previous year. It leaned in turn towards one or other of the parties, a system which, in the minds of the people, covered it with ridicule, but which was extremely useful in the beginning by enabling

them to nip in the bud any attempt of the extreme factions.

The troubles in the west were also far from being at an end. We have seen how it fared with the two expeditions fitted out by Pitt; but a third one landed at the Ile Dieu (Oct. 2nd, 1795), a small island about eight miles from the mainland of Poitou, and was composed of two thousand five hundred men, who were destined to be the nucleus of several regiments; it also had on board a large store of arms, ammunition, and the Count d'Artois. Charette, named general commander of the Catholic forces, was awaiting him with ten thousand men. The whole of the Vendée was ready to rise the moment the prince touched French soil, but frivolous and undecided, he waited six weeks in idleness, endeavouring to obtain from England his recall. Hoche, to whom the command of the Republican forces had been entrusted, took advantage of this delay to cut off Charette from his communications, while he held Stofflet and the rest of the Brittany chiefs in check, and occupied the coast with thirty thousand men. The Count d'Artois, whom Pitt would not recall, entreated the English commander to set sail for England (Dec. 17th, 1795), and the latter, unable to manage his fleet on a coast without shelter, complied with his request, leaving the prince on his arrival to the deserved contempt of even his own partisans.

Charette in despair attempted another rising, hoping to be seconded by Stofflet, but he was beaten on all sides by Hoche. This general, who combined the astute-

ness of the statesman with the valour of the soldier, succeeded in a short time in pacifying the country by his generous but firm behaviour towards the inhabitants. Charette, tracked from shelter to shelter, was finally compelled to surrender, brought to Nantes, and shot (March 24th). The same lot had befallen Stofflet a month before at Angers. After these events Hoche led his troops into Brittany, where he succeeded in putting an end to the *chouannerie*. The west returned to its normal condition; and eighty thousand troops were thus rendered available to repair to the frontiers.

While the Directory was destroying Royalism, the Terrorists, composed of the dregs of the Dantonists, Hébertists, and partisans of Robespierre, rallied under the leadership of a certain Babeuf, former secretary to Chaumette, a fanatic, who in a newspaper, similar to that of Marat, professed to bring back "the reign of universal happiness." His plot was becoming somewhat dangerous when it was discovered and its chief arrested (10th May). The conspirators attempted to effect a rising in the camp at Grenelle, but their efforts were in vain, and they left numerous prisoners behind them, who were handed over to a military commission. Three former members of the Convention and thirty-five accomplices were shot, the rest transported; while Babeuf, tried before a court of justice, was found guilty, and beheaded with one of his fellow-conspirators.

The frustration of this plot and the victory in the Vendée, gave the Government confidence in its own

strength. The Republic triumphed; it was energetic in the interior, victorious in the exterior; it seemed likely to last. The splendid campaign of Italy was being fought, a campaign in which the Revolution obtained more victories in a few months than the Monarchy had been able to show during years, a campaign in which Napoleon commenced his wonderful career.

Carnot had conceived a gigantic plan for the campaign of 1796—namely, to carry the war into the heart of the Austrian States, and to march simultaneously on Vienna by the Danube, the Maine, and the Po. Three young generals were entrusted with its execution: Jourdan commanding the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Moreau that of the Rhine and the Moselle, Napoleon that of Italy. The troops were in the most deplorable state, but undeterred by this the victor of Vendémiaire pushed events to their successful issue.

Notwithstanding its want of everything, the army of Italy had not been inactive during the year 1795. Under the command of General Schérer, it occupied the summit of the Alps, confronting the Piedmontese and Austrians posted on the two inclines of the mountains from Ceva to Loano. Schérer resolved to reopen communications with Genoa, and to separate the two opposing armies by dividing their lines. While Serrurier with the left held the Piedmontese in check, the centre, led by Masséna, occupied the crests and the issues of the Alps, and the right, commanded by Augereau, turned the Austrian flank and surrounded

their left at Loano. The Allies, beaten on all points, were obliged to abandon the littoral as far as Savona, with a loss of eight thousand men and forty guns (24th November, 1795). The communication with Genoa was recovered. The separation of the Austrians and Piedmontese could have been completed but for the want of energy in Schérer, increased by the difficulties of the approaching winter and the total lack of provisions.

Shoeless, foodless, moneyless, its communications with France scarcely safe, distributed hap-hazard between Savona and Ormeo on the summits of the Alps, occupying the Col de Tende and the Col de Garessio with the littoral, thus found Napoleon this army of thirty thousand men, of whom six thousand were horse and artillery, when he succeeded Schérer in command (30th March, 1796). These men of the south, excitable, daring, intelligent, and making the best of privations, had lived thus for the last four years. Far from endeavouring to ignore or gloss over their hardships, the young general, arriving amongst them almost unknown, to take the command and to be obeyed by generals already illustrious by their victories, struck the keynote to their hearts at once. "Soldiers," thus ran his proclamation, "you are badly fed and almost naked, the Government owes you much and can do nothing for you. I am going to conduct you to the most fertile plains in the world. There you will find glory, riches, and honour." In fact, his plan, communicated beforehand to Carnot, and

to which he probably owed his command, was to pierce the line of the Allies, to attack the Piedmontese in the rear, to force the Austrians into Lombardy, and to conquer this province as a set-off to the late loss of Belgium.

The Allies, sixty-five thousand in all, were disposed as follows:—Five-and-twenty thousand Piedmontese stationed from the Stura to the Bormida by way of Ceva, forming the right; the centre, composed of fifteen thousand Austrians, occupied the banks of the Bormida; the left, five-and-twenty thousand Austrians, were in the passes of the Bochetta.

Bonaparte divided his army into four divisions, commanded by Serrurier, Masséna, Augereau, and Laharpe, leaving the first at Garessio to confront the Piedmontese, sending Laharpe as far as Voltri to threaten Genoa, and reserving the two other divisions to pierce the enemy's centre by the Col de Cadibone, which is nearly at the junction of the Alps and Apennines. Almost at the same time the Austrian general, Beaulieu, was marching with his left on Voltri, endeavouring to drive the French from the province of Genoa and throw them back on the Var, while his centre occupied Dego, and communicated with the Piedmontese by way of Millesimo. At the news of this movement, Bonaparte made Laharpe fall back, and opposed him to the Austrian centre, whilst Augereau and Masséna turned the Austrian flank by Montenotte. The enemy, assailed on all sides, had its lines broken and was thrown back on Dego, where Beaulieu

hastened to rejoin his centre (12th April). This first victory placed the French beyond the mountains, between the Piedmontese on the left, barring the road to Ceva towards Millesimo, and the Austrians occupying the road of Acqui towards Dego on their right. Nothing was wanted now but to complete the separation of the allied armies. While Augereau forced the passes of Millesimo, compelled one Piedmontese division to surrender and drove back the others on Ceva (13th April), Masséna and Laharpe pushed forward to Dego, defeated the Austrians anew and threw them back on Acqui (14th April). Thus whilst the communications of the Allies were definitely cut, the French occupied the two Bormidas, the Austrians retreated on Milan, and the Piedmontese on Turin. The whole of this grand result had been obtained in a three days' battle, costing the enemy ten thousand men and forty guns.

Bonaparte wishing to crush the Piedmontese, left Laharpe to deal with the Austrians, united the divisions of Augereau and Masséna to that of Serrurier, and marched on Ceva. The Piedmontese, attacked in front, and their left uncovered by Beaulieu's retreat, abandoned their camp, recrossed the Tanaro to give battle at Mondovi, where they were beaten, and retreated behind the Stura (21st April). The French regained their communications with Nice, and pushed as far as Chierasco, only ten leagues from Turin.

The Court of Turin was a prey to the greatest consternation; the population was in favour of the French ideas, and clamoured for an armistice. This armistice

was granted by Bonaparte (28th April), some historians say, in order to rid himself of his lesser enemy before attacking the greater; but in reality to please his protector, Carnot, who, notwithstanding his honesty, was powerfully influenced by his wife, who held Royalist doctrines, and did her utmost not to deprive the *émigrés* of their last asylum.[1]

France herself was dazzled by these rapid victories, obtained in scarcely a fortnight, but the army wanted more than this. It wanted to be led to Rome, as Bonaparte had promised, and afterwards to Vienna; but this scarcely suited the plans of the young general. Seldom honest in his political dealings, he was never more dishonest than in the beginning of his career, Bonaparte wished to remain on a good footing with those men in Paris who could advance his interests, and who, curiously enough, were nearly all inclined to favour the return of the Monarchy.

Nevertheless, compelled to some extent to redeem his pledges with the army, Bonaparte advanced farther into Italy, in spite of the risk of penetrating with thirty thousand men into a country reputed to be the tomb of the French, leaving behind him Genoa and Piedmont in a disposition of doubtful neutrality, having in front the Austrians, and on his flank Rome and Naples, inspired with a fanatical hatred "against the atheistical brigands of France." Undaunted by

[1] For this and the Royalist reaction which followed this treaty with Piedmont, and resulted in the Revolution of Fructidor, see Michelet, *Histoire du XIX. siècle*, vol. ii., bk. iii., ch. i.

this, counting upon the military impotency of these states, hoping to find allies amongst the populations themselves, and certain that a victory over the Austrians would annul all these enmities, Bonaparte resumed his march by way of Alessandria. He passed the Po at Placentia, and the Adda at Lodi. This last feat secured to him the possession of Lombardy. Beaulieu was thrown back into the passes of the Tyrol, and the Republican army invested Mantua. Thus the French, almost at one blow, had become masters of Pavia, Cremona, and of Milan, which last town Bonaparte entered in triumph (14th May). He remained there a week, during which time he consolidated his victories, whilst he organised further conquests, equipped his army, and made the Milanese believe that he intended to create an Italian Republic. He had already granted an armistice to the Duke of Parma, who had to pay two millions of francs, to furnish several thousand horses, quantities of grain, and to send twenty paintings to the Paris Museum. He concluded a similar treaty with the Duke of Modena; and levied a contribution of twenty million francs in Lombardy, ten of which he sent to the Directory, and one to Moreau, to assist him in getting his army ready for the field. It was a novelty to see a general not only feed and provide for his own troops, but for those of a fellow-general at a considerable distance, and besides this send supplies to his Government. The Directory grew alarmed at the tactics of a young man who dictated to the defeated enemies whatever he wished them to do,

who signed treaties with nations and princes, leaving a throne to one, promising independence to another, who, in short, displayed the most extraordinary abilities as a "leader of men." It wanted to compel Bonaparte to alter his plans; he tendered his resignation, which it dared not accept; and his ascendency over the Government grew as great as that over his soldiers.

Bonaparte resumed the march with his army reinforced, now well supplied and full of enthusiasm. He arrived on Venetian ground on the 24th of May, and requested what already had been granted to the Austrians, a passage through the Venetian territory. The aristocracy of that republic, though fallen, was still powerful and rich enough to possess 12,000 troops and twenty vessels, and elected to play a part which eventually proved its ruin. It hated the Austrians, who surrounded it on all sides, but it detested still more the French for their Revolutionary principles. In this emergency, it chose to disarm and to remain neutral, thus in turns offering a tempting prey to the Austrians and to the French. Beaulieu, with the remnants of his army, had entrenched himself behind the Mincio, after taking possession of Peschiera, on Venetian soil. Thither Bonaparte followed him, and after inflicting on him a serious defeat, threw him back on to the road of the Tyrol (30th May). The French occupied Peschiera, took from the Venetians Verona and Porto-Legnago, and thus having secured the line of the Adige, besieged Mantua.

Notwithstanding their successes, the situation of the French was becoming more critical and complicated

every day. In Piedmont and the state of Genoa isolated soldiers were massacred by troops of brigands. Modena and Parma, humiliated, did not conceal their malevolent intentions; in their rear were the English, masters of Leghorn and Corsica; on their right Rome and Naples, arming for resistance; they themselves were in the midst of Venice, angered at being compelled to feed their armies, and at being made the centre of a propaganda of Revolutionary doctrines. Last of all, forty thousand Austrians, under Wurmser, were marching upon them, rallying the remnants of Beaulieu's army, intending to relieve Mantua, and to reconquer Italy. To repress all these hostile movements and intentions, Bonaparte left fifteen thousand of his troops before Mantua, twenty thousand on the Adige, and with the rest, about eight thousand, marched upon the peninsula to quiet Naples, to levy a war-tax on the Pope, and to drive the English from Leghorn. Naples hastened to submit, withdrew her troops from the coalition, and closed her ports to the English. Genoa gave the required securities for remaining quiet; Bonaparte marched through Reggio, Modena, and Bologna, where the partisans of the cause of liberty welcomed him with enthusiasm. Ferrara capitulated without resistance; upon which Pius VI., a weak-minded but virtuous priest, who had been all along terribly afraid of the Revolution, asked for an armistice (June 2nd). To his great astonishment he obtained it; but on the condition of giving up Bologna, Ferrara, and the stronghold of Ancona, of paying a contribution of twenty-one million francs in money,

and of sending to Paris one hundred paintings, and five hundred manuscripts. After which Bonaparte detached from Tuscany a division, which occupied Leghorn, and despatched arms and munitions to Corsica, to enable the patriots of this island to expel the English. Having also forced Piedmont to remain passive, he returned to Mantua. As will be seen, the Papacy had remained intact, despite the opinion of some members of the Directory that its destruction should have been the principal aim of the conquest of Italy. The young general was determined at all hazards to save Rome, as his subsequent conduct will prove.

If Bonaparte sincerely believed in the submission of the Italian states, the arrival of Wurmser with his Austrians at Trent, the capital of the Italian Tyrol, was sufficient to dispel all such thoughts. The whole of these States rose in a body against him and his little army of forty-five thousand men, only two-thirds of whom were available, on account of the siege of Mantua and the occupation of Leghorn. General Sauret was at Salo with six thousand men, Masséna was at Verona and Rivoli with fifteen thousand, Augereau at Porto-Legnago with eight thousand.

Wurmser divided his army into two corps, twenty thousand under Quasdanovich to descend upon Salo, by going round the upper end of the lake of Garda; whilst forty thousand, commanded by himself, were to descend on both banks of the Adige as far as Verona. He hoped to surprise the French before Mantua, and crush them in front, while his lieutenant

should cut off their retreat. Quasdanovich drove Sauret from Salo, and made himself master of Brescia, whilst Wurmser expelled Masséna from Rivoli, and marched on Mantua. Immediately, Bonaparte, calculating that he could defeat the two armies, one after another, had Verona and Legnago evacuated, raised the siege of Mantua, and abandoning all his war-material, concentrated his forces behind the Mincio, and marched upon Quasdanovich, whom he eventually defeated at Lonato, and drove back on Gavardo, leaving Masséna to confront the rallying enemy, while he sent Augereau against Wurmser, who had entered Mantua and dispatched two of his divisions across the Mincio. At Lonato Masséna defeated Quasdanovich, who had advanced once more to come to Wurmser's aid, and threw him back again on Gavardo (2nd August); Augereau defeated Wurmser at Castiglione, and drove him back to the Mincio (3rd August). Bonaparte, who had first aided Masséna, and afterwards Augereau, went back to encounter Quasdanovich at Gavardo, routed him completely, compelled four thousand of his troops to lay down their arms, and drove back the remainder towards Trent (4th August). Then he fell upon Wurmser, who had rallied his two divisions and was at Castiglione, defeated him, and made him cross the river (5th August). Masséna rushed to Peschiera, overthrew the right wing of the enemy, and was about to cut them off from the Tyrol, when Wurmser returned on the Adige, and fell back on Roveredo and the fastnesses of the Tyrol. Verona and Legnago were retaken by

the French, and the siege of Mantua was again begun. In this campaign of six days, thirty thousand men had beaten double their number, had killed or taken twenty thousand troops, and captured sixty guns and twenty standards.

Bonaparte gave his forces twenty days' rest—during which he received a reinforcement of five thousand men—before attempting to pursue the enemy across the Tyrol and then to join the army of the Rhine, which was slowly penetrating into Bavaria. On the other hand, Wurmser, having increased his army to the effective strength of fifty thousand, resumed the offensive, leaving Davidowich with twenty thousand troops to confront the Republicans on the Adige and lure them into the Tyrol; he himself descending by the gorges of the Brenta to Bassano, to relieve Mantua, and catch the French between his army and that of Davidowich. Bonaparte, leaving three thousand men at Verona and Legnago, and eight thousand before Mantua, ascended the Adige with twenty-eight thousand, defeated the Austrians in the passes of Roveredo and Calliano (3rd September), and reached Trent, where he learnt that Wurmser had descended into the valley of the Brenta. Immediately, instead of penetrating into the Tyrol, Bonaparte left Vaubois with eight thousand troops on the Lavis, to make head against Davidowich, and rushed with twenty thousand men into the passes of the Brenta. He overtook the rear-guard of the Austrians, which had two days the advantage of him, at Primolano, routed them (7th Sept.) and compelled

Wurmser to face him at Bassano, where he defeated him again (8th Sept.), taking four thousand men prisoners, and cutting off his road to Germany. The situation of Wurmser with his fourteen thousand men was desperate, and he was obliged to march upon Vicenza, situated in a country of which the French occupied all the issues. Still pursued by Bonaparte, he continued his march, passed the Molinella, and succeeded in reaching Mantua, whose garrison he increased to twenty-five thousand men (12th September). With these forces he tried to keep the field, and far from satisfied, offered battle almost instantaneously, but was again defeated at Fort St. George, an outlying suburb of Mantua, and compelled to shut himself within the town (15th September).

This left Bonaparte free for three months, to do as he liked in the centre of Italy, for he no longer thought of joining the army of the Rhine, whose operations were scarcely successful, and of leaving the army of Italy in a perilously isolated position amidst its conquered provinces. Emboldened by the checks the French army of the Rhine had suffered at the hands of the Archduke Charles, and counting upon the new troops Austria was sending into Italy, Venice, Rome, and Naples had again taken up arms, and Genoa and Piedmont were not to be depended upon. The Directory, unable to send reinforcements, endeavoured to aid Bonaparte by concluding or allowing him to conclude treaties, three of which he signed with Piedmont, Naples, and Genoa, to assure the neutrality of these states, to allow the passage of French troops through

Italy, and to close all their ports to the English. By his promises he prevented Rome and Venice from declaring themselves against him. He approved the formation of a republic in the states of the Duke of Modena, who had violated the armistice; he conciliated the Milanese by the promise of a Lombardian Republic; and, last of all, the Directory concluded a treaty with Spain, which was a renewal of the Family-Pact, and by which the two states undertook to furnish each other with twenty-four thousand troops and forty vessels (18th August). England became uneasy, her finances had been heavily drained by Pitt's lavishness; half of the European ports were closed to her. Ireland was not only preparing for a revolt, but France intended to assist her by the same means that England had employed in the Vendée. Pitt sent an ambassador to Paris, though this was merely done to gain time.

A living torrent of men was about to descend from the Alps on Bonaparte. Happily the whole of it did not descend at once. Austria had assembled twenty thousand men under Davidowich in the Tyrol, forty thousand under Alvinzi in the mountains of the Friuli. They had orders to join at Verona, to outnumber Bonaparte, to crush him and deliver Wurmser. Vaubois, opposed to Davidowich, and charged to maintain against him the positions of Corona and Rivoli, was thrown back upon the latter place through a panic of his soldiers and an oversight of his own. Masséna retreated before Alvinzi, not without some disorder. Bonaparte at Verona

was in a critical situation; his army took the alarm. In vain did he, Masséna, and Augereau try to stem the advance of Alvinzi's forces, he was obliged to re-enter Verona. Then he conceived the bold plan of turning the enemy's left flank, in order to make him abandon his position, and to compel him to meet him in the open. Leaving two thousand troops in Verona, he quitted this town with the rest of his army, turned to his left, and kept along the banks of the Adige until he arrived at Ronco, where a bridge of boats had been thrown across the river (14th November). He crossed the stream and found himself at the beginning of two roads leading through vast marshes, in which numbers became useless, since only the heads of the columns could be engaged. That of the left kept along the Adige by way of Porcil to Verona, in front of the fortress of Caldiero, that of the right crossed the little stream of the Alpon at the village of Arcola, and reached the road of Verona to Vicenza in the direction of Villanova, the only point of retreat to Alvinzi, who had now in his front Verona, to his left the Adige, on his right impassable mountains. Masséna advanced by the embankment of Porcil, having Caldiero in front; Augereau marched by the embankment of Arcola, but found the bridge of that village defended by some battalions, whose stout resistance gave Alvinzi time to leave Caldiero, and throw reinforcements on Arcola. In vain Augereau and Bonaparte, at the head of their grenadiers, rushed on to the bridge, each a standard in his hand, they were repulsed, and Bonaparte, left knee-deep in the

march, was only saved through the devotion of some of his friends and of his brother Louis.[1] Night meantime having set in, it was feared that Vaubois had been thrown back on the Mincio, and the French recrossed the Adige. The next morning, finding that Vaubois had held out, they crossed the stream again, not to turn Alvinzi's position, since he had deployed in the open, but to throw him back on the Brenta. They found Arcola occupied by the Austrians in great numbers, against whom they availed nothing, and were obliged once more to cross the river. During the day Vaubois had been driven from Rivoli, and with difficulty maintained himself at Castelnovo. Bonaparte feared he would be caught between the two armies, unless he crushed Alvinzi. He crossed the stream a third time (17th November), and whilst Augereau turned the left of the Alpon to take Arcola in the rear, Masséna attacked the Austrians in front, and broke their lines. Alvinzi was obliged to yield, and retreated in disorder on Montebello, having lost in three days twelve thousand killed, and six thousand prisoners; whilst Bonaparte re-entered Verona amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of his soldiery and the inhabitants. Immediately he despatched Masséna to the assistance of Vaubois, who had fallen back behind the Mincio, and sent Augereau to Dolce to cut off Davidowich's retreat. But the latter had already ascended the course of the Adige, and

[1] Much has been printed and painted on the subject of the bridge of Arcola. Those who would wish to get at the truth of this supposed heroism of Bonaparte had better consult Michelet's *Histoire du XIX. siècle*, vol. ii., book ii., chap. ii.

taken up a position at Roveredo. Vaubois occupied once more the plateau of Rivoli and the heights of Corona. Bonaparte gave six weeks' rest to his worn-out troops, meanwhile reorganising the administration of the conquered provinces, which had suffered from the predatory and despotic measures of the agents of the Directory, after which he started to punish Venice, which had armed her Sclavonic regiments, and the Pope, who proved refractory. Scarcely arrived at Bologna, he was obliged to return to the Adige, having heard that Alvinzi had resumed the offensive, and intended by a plan of concerted movements to attack Verona and Legnago with an army of sixty thousand men. By an uninterrupted series of heroic and almost supernatural efforts, fighting by day, marching by night, he succeeded in completely defeating the enemy at the battles of Rivoli (January 14th and 15th, 1797), the Fort of La Favorite, a suburb of Mantua (January 17th, 1797), and Corona (January 17th, 1797), which cost the Austrians twenty-four thousand prisoners, twelve thousand killed, sixty cannon, twenty-four standards, and, in addition, their greatest stronghold, Mantua, which surrendered after having been reduced to the last extremities of famine, with thirteen thousand prisoners and three hundred and fifty guns (2nd February, 1797).

Bonaparte started immediately again for Bologna with a division partly formed of Italians, and arrived on the banks of the Senio, where the Papal army was stationed, increased by a great number of peasants. Having routed it, Bonaparte traversed the Romagna,

possessed himself of Ancona, and arrived at Tolentino. The Papal court, terror-stricken, sued for peace, and Bonaparte, whose sole aim was to reduce it to impotency without forfeiting its goodwill, consented to it (19th February). On that day was signed the treaty of Tolentino, by which the Pope yielded to France Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, Ancona, and the Romagna, paid an indemnity of thirty million of francs, and delivered the objects of art stipulated formerly in the armistice of Bologna.

France stood amazed at these prodigious victories, in which the prisoners taken outnumbered their victors, at the treaties in which Raphael and Michael Angelo paid the ransom of their country, but above all at a young man, whose name they could hardly pronounce, and who so suddenly had presented himself in his threefold capacity of soldier, diplomatist, and administrator. If the operations on the Rhine had been equally successful, the Revolution would have dictated conditions to the whole of Europe, but, unfortunately, after Jourdan had resigned and been succeeded by Bournonville, the latter had remained inactive, whilst the army of the Rhine and Moselle, solely occupied in the defence of Kehl, besieged by the Archduke Charles, was obliged to capitulate after an heroic resistance of two months, during which time the fortress had been completely reduced to ruins (9th January).

Convinced of the duplicity of the cabinet of St. James's, the Directory had broken off all negotiations, and induced Holland and Spain to join their navies to

the French in an effort to gain the supremacy on the sea. But Spain was too enfeebled to be depended upon, and Holland, torn by internal dissensions, found her resources too precarious to be of much use. From the first England had captured the island of Trinidad, from the second Ceylon, the Cape, and the Molaccas. The French navy, under the able administration of Turquet, was recovering from its late reverses. A naval squadron had of late destroyed some shipping at Newfoundland, a flotilla had been sent to St. Domingo, where the natives were in revolt, and an expedition had been projected to Ireland commanded by Hoche, and which started from Brest. It did not land, failed from various causes, and regained the French coasts (24th December, 1796).

The campaign of the year 1797 had been intended as decisive. Austria ordered her army of the Rhine to remain on the defensive, and she made a last effort to raise a third army wherewith the Archduke Charles should enter Italy in order to protect the three roads which lead to Vienna. Laudon, with fifteen thousand troops, kept the defiles of the Brenner; Lusignan, with eight thousand, those of Tarwis; the Archduke, with twenty-five thousand, those of the Adelsberg, and especially the road to Trieste. Bonaparte had proclaimed his design of marching on Vienna; the Directory approved of it. He detached from the armies of the Rhine the divisions under Bernadotte and Delmas to bring the troops under his command to the number of seventy-five thousand. He gave the command of

the army of the Sambre and Meuse to Hoche, increased his army and that of Moreau to the number of one hundred and forty thousand men, and ordered them to resume the offensive.

Bonaparte's attempt seemed a most daring one. He had to advance between the Tyrol and Venice, which latter state was inclined to revolt in his rear; to cross the Alps and the Simmering in March, and to take up his quarters in the heart of the Austrian dominions, two hundred leagues from his basis of operations. As a check to the Venetians he left twenty thousand troops behind under General Kilmaine; he directed twenty thousand men under Joubert on the Tyrol, with instructions to drive Laudon over the Brenner, and afterwards, according to circumstances, either to descend to the basin of the river Inn to join Moreau, or to turn to the right to effect a junction with himself in the valley of the Drave; he dispatched ten thousand men, commanded by Masséna, to act against Lusignan at Feltre and Belluno; he himself, with twenty-five thousand, followed the main route from Trevisa to Görizia, and crossed the Piave without hindrance. The Archduke had posted himself on the Tagliamento, and endeavoured to hold it, but he was defeated at Valvasona (16th March), and compelled to retire behind the Isonzo. Bonaparte took possession of Palma-Nuova; whilst at the same time Masséna crushed Lusignan, threw himself from Belluno on Ozoppo, took the latter town, and marched by the Ponteba on the Tarwis passes. Prince Charles directed his right

wing, his artillery and material, on Udina, Caporetto, and the pass of Chiusa, to forestall Masséna, he himself wishing to guard the Lower Isonzo to cover Trieste. But Masséna made himself master of the Col de Tarwis at the same time that Bonaparte took Gradisca, crossed the Lower Isonzo, and pursued the Austrian right wing, for which Masséna laid in wait. The Archduke, cut off from his right wing, unable to ascend the left bank of the Isonzo on account of the mountains bordering it, was compelled to make in hot haste for the Adelsberg passes, chased by Bernadotte as far as Laibach. From there he marched to Villach to meet two divisions sent to him from the Rhine, with which he rushed to the Tarwis to dislodge Masséna and re-open the road to his right wing; but he was beaten and forced to retire on Villach, where he joined the remainder of his army (24th March). His right wing, caught between Masséna and Bonaparte, in vain endeavoured to extricate itself; it was completely routed with the loss of six thousand men, thirty cannons, and four hundred artillery or baggage waggons. The French entered Villach, and from thence marched to Klagenfurth, whilst the division of Bernadotte took possession of Trieste and Laibach.

Meanwhile Joubert had defeated the Austrians on the Lavis, at Neumarkt, and at Clausen; he drove them to the foot of the Brenner, and arrived at Brixen (22nd March). But the whole of the Tyrol rose in revolt. The dauntless peasants joined the troops of Laudon and threatened to annihilate the

French. Joubert, having learned that the Rhine contingents were still stationary, turned to the right by Brunecken, crossed the Toblach pass, and reached Villach. Immediately after Laudon descended the Adige, and entered Venetian territory, where civil war had broken out; the principal towns, incited by the ideas and agents of France, revolted against the Senate, and entered into an alliance with Milan and Bologna. But the aristocracy had roused the rural districts against the towns; armed bands of savage peasants clamoured for the extermination of the French, Laudon's approach made the Senate throw off its mask and conclude a secret treaty with Austria to cut off Bonaparte's retreat. Ten Sclavonic regiments were called into Venice, while every isolated Frenchman was murdered.

Bonaparte, at these disastrous tidings, threatened the Senate with wholesale destruction if it attempted to organise a Vendée in his rear; but, notwithstanding his uneasiness at the inaction of the armies of the Rhine, he continued his march, defeated the Archduke in the passes of Neumarkt, crossed the Alps again, and arrived at Leoben, where he was joined by Joubert. His vanguard occupied the Simmering; it was but twenty-five leagues from Vienna. The Austrian court was terror-stricken, and the Archduke requested an armistice, which Bonaparte granted, and afterwards, contrary to all precedent, transformed into preliminaries for a peace (18th April), which he signed on the following basis: the cession of the left bank of the Rhine,

Savoy, and Belgium to France; the formation of Lombardy, Modena, and the Bergamasque into a Cisalpine Republic, whilst Austria received as an indemnity the whole continental possessions of Venice.

The very day that Bonaparte signed these preliminaries of peace the two armies of the Rhine, hitherto inactive for want of money, entered upon the campaign. Hoche defeated the Austrians at Hulsendorf, and crossed the Sieg and the Lahn; Moreau crossed the Rhine at Diersheim, beat the Austrians, and penetrated into the Black Forest. Both generals were about to join their armies near the Maine, when the intelligence of the signing of the preliminaries of peace at Leoben stopped their further progress (23rd April). The Directory would no doubt have refused to ratify these treaties, but Bonaparte was already becoming a power, though as yet his subsequent elevation was hardly hinted at in his most immediate circle. The Government, therefore, scarcely cared to blame the conduct of one who had forced the coalition to humble itself before the Revolution; besides, there seemed to be a universal wish for peace. Hence the preliminaries of Leoben were ratified, and negotiations commenced between the victor of Italy and the Austrian envoy.

Bonaparte was eager to recross the Alps, in order to secure his communications, for notwithstanding his threats, hostilities had broken out between the French troops who protected the Venetian towns and the peasants who supported the Senate. The garrison of Verona

saw itself besieged in the forts by 20,000 mountaineers, 10,000 Sclavonic troops, and the Austrians of Laudon; the French were assassinated in the streets and hospitals, and four hundred wounded were even put to death in cold blood. The revolt had already spread to the neighbouring towns, so that the Kilmaine division was compelled to fight a most sanguinary battle at the gates of Verona, in order to force the town to submission and free the garrison. The Senate would have denied all complicity, had not the crew of a French vessel taking shelter at Venice been subject to similar outrages.

When the news of the treaty of Leoben arrived, the Senate craved for mercy. Bonaparte's indignant answer was: "I will prove an Attila to Venice." He kept his word; and a Democratic government was provisionally declared by the conqueror (16th May).

Genoa, Venice's ancient rival, where a Democratic insurrection, fomented by the French, had also broken out, shared a nearly similar fate. The Senate had suppressed the revolt, and had ill-treated the troops of the line and the French ambassador (31st March). Bonaparte, already returned from Milan, made the Senate abdicate, and under the title of the Ligurian Republic, and with a new Constitution, Genoa became the submissive ally of France.

All these events, while spreading terror into the hearts of the enemies of the French Revolution, filled Europe with astonishment. Fear, if nothing else, prevented any country from joining England, which now stood alone in the struggle; its democratic party was

clamouring for peace; a part of the fleet showed its disaffection by mutiny, and threatening to steer for the French coasts; the Bank, exhausted by its enormous advances to the Government, was obliged to suspend cash payments (26th Feb.). A new expedition to Ireland, in which the Dutch and Spanish were to join, was threatened, and Pitt was forced to yield to the demand of the nation and the victories of France, by proposing peace, which proposal the Directory accepted, but which negotiations were broken off later.

Though outwardly prosperous, France was inwardly still a prey to great agitations and sufferings. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Government, the finances were at the lowest ebb, the customs and taxes were behindhand everywhere, the nation had no more confidence in the new paper money than it had lately shown in the old. The Government was obliged to borrow money at ruinous interest, a transaction which gave rise to scandalous dealings, and caused the Directory to be accused of dishonesty; though it would seem that but one of its members had a secret share in the infamous profits of the financiers who built their fortunes on the national misery. While the Government was thus at its wit's end for resources, these speculators, present everywhere, throve upon their iniquitous gains. They displayed the most outrageous profusion, they affected a spirit entirely favourable to the counter-Revolution. They imitated the worst vices of the *ancien régime*, without possessing one single charm which had made these vices pleasant to the eye. But

as they knew that they did not possess these charms, they at least endeavoured to acquire them, and what better teachers could they find than the old Royalists, who were now so interesting, since they could no longer do any harm? The Republicans, the Jacobins —from the lowest scum of which these very *parvenus* had sprung—were too rude and impolite in their tastes and demeanour. Now that the country simply wanted money, no longer flesh and blood, the devotion of these heroic, but often misguided, men was overlooked; the belief in liberty was gone or mercilessly crushed; egotism and a wish to be rich, the most sneering and stolid indifference to aught that savoured of true feeling, were the predominant sentiments. The idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity was getting stale and worn out; the time was not far distant when the nation would cringe before a man, the very incarnation of antagonism to these three watchwords of the Revolution.

All these ideas, added to the financial embarrassment of the Government, filled with great joy the Royalists, never weary of drawing attention to the happiness the nation had enjoyed under the Monarchy. But this praise of ancient times was part of their revenge; and all their efforts tended only to regain their former riches and position. The refractory priests openly preached disorder and civil war. Some of the Royalist partisans resorted to theft and murder, the south and the west were infested with hordes of brigands in their pay. The poverty of the Government was their doing; the clerks of the Treasury bribed by the Royalists

absolutely refused to comply with the orders of the Directory, which was divided amongst itself. Two great agencies endeavoured to establish throughout the country an affiliated society, in imitation of the former Jacobin club, for the purpose of making of France one gigantic Vendée. This purpose was only frustrated by the contemptible dishonesty of the intriguing leaders, who did not even understand that there should be honour among thieves. A Royalist conspiracy was discovered, which was but lukewarmly punished, the chiefs only being arrested. Their papers implicated many members of the Councils; it was even said that eighty-four deputies had offered Louis XVIII. to reinstate him on the throne, if he would promise to leave the Constitution intact. The Directory gave great publicity to this intrigue, but it was in such bad odour itself that the people simply believed it to be an election trick.

For the elections now at hand were considered as an appeal against the events of the 13th Vendémiaire. The nation herself seemed to be fully sharing the reaction, for the re-establishment of Royalty was everywhere discussed by the electoral bodies and the primary assemblies. The Republicans and their constitutional scruples were almost looked upon with aversion. The boldness of the Royalist tactics could only be explained by their certainty of seeing the counter-Revolution triumphant. And, in fact, their manœuvres resulted in the election of two hundred and fifty Monarchical deputies, among whom were men conspiring with the Pretender to bring back the *ancien régime*, such as Pichegru, General Willot,

and many more. The first, since his dismissal, had concluded his bargain with the Royalists, and was regarded as the probable saviour of the emigration. The Pretender wrote to him, "I deposit into your hands the plenitude of my powers and rights."

The new Third, or rather the new members of the Assembly, on assuming their functions, showed that the feelings of the majority had changed, for they named Pichegru president of the Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois, another Royalist, president of the Ancients (20th May). Letourneur, to whose lot it fell to retire from the Directory, was replaced by a weak-minded man, Barthélemy, whose only title to such a post were his Royalist opinions, and whose name was far from spotless from more than one point of view.

Then the majority began its contemplated reactions by repealing the laws which excluded the relations of *émigrés* from all public functions, and by granting an amnesty to the inhabitants of Toulon for having given up the town to the English. It abolished the punishment of transportation for refractory priests, censured the Directory for having made war upon Venice, treated with the Italian powers without the authorisation of the Councils, and refused the Government every means of repressing the massacres in the south, and brigandage in the west. It fomented the indignation of all honest-minded people by continually censuring the wretched state of the finances, caused in the main by the Royalists themselves; and last of all forbade the Directory to employ the devices by which up till now

it had managed to keep afloat. At every sitting, motion followed upon motion, report upon report, resolutions crowded each other, intended to sap the authority of the Directory, to increase the alarm, and throw consternation into the hearts of the real Republicans. The Royalists even planned the reorganisation of the National Guard, the indictment of the Directory, and the proclamation of Louis XVIII. by the Councils. They were mad with joy, their agents overran the south and west, stirring up their partisans to revenge. The purchasers of national property were assassinated, the *émigrés*, through intimidation, recovering their possessions for a mere song; the clergy, re-established in their ancient dioceses, corresponded with Rome, formed associations, and preached revolt. Five thousand *émigrés* and *chouans* were in Paris. "The name of Republican pronounced with fear and respect by the foreigner was amongst the French a term of reproach and proscription."

Many perceived well enough that to put an end to this state of affairs it wanted another supreme struggle between the *ancien régime* and the Revolution, but the conditions of the struggle were changed; it was not the executive who now conspired, but the national representatives. The Directory was mistrusted, divided against itself, and powerless even to dissolve the Councils. Of its members, Barthélemy was a Royalist; Barras, descended from an old family, could not be depended upon, for he was a debauchee and a profligate, and the principal cause of the discredit of the

Government; Carnot, a Republican by conviction, was through gratitude and the influence of his wife attached to the Royalist cause, and imagined that the present opposition was perfectly right and constitutional; he detested Barras for various reasons, and mistrusted his other colleagues, Rewbell and Lareveillère, former Girondins, laborious, painstaking and talented, but lacking the energies requisite for great emergencies. The first was coarse, insolent, and overbearing, the second a dreamer and religious Utopist.

The latter two, however, resolved to save the Republic, even at the price of violence. They attempted a reconciliation with Carnot, who rejected their advances with contempt. More successful with Barras, who inclined to Republicanism, they endeavoured to defeat the conspiracy, but their party was in a minority in the Legislative and mistrusted. Besides, the documentary proofs of the plot were not sufficient to warrant legal prosecutions, or more likely had been kept back, consequently there was nothing left but a *coup d'état;* and to accomplish this the army alone could be counted upon, it being the only power that had remained Republican. It was in a state of indignation, because it had vanquished Europe for the sake of crushing Royalism, and this very Royalism was now proudly rearing its head in the midst of France. "Thus, it was the dread of the counter-Revolution which in 1793 had thrown the Republic into the excesses and frenzy whose sad history we have recorded. It was the dread of the

counter-Revolution which to-day obliged it to throw itself into the arms of the military."[1]

The three armies of the Republic differed greatly in their composition and in the characters of their chiefs. The army of Italy, excited by its late victories, well cared for, and as unstinted in its pleasures as in its wants, officered by plebeians, was Jacobin to a man, and spoke of nothing else than to mow down the aristocrats. Its chief, a former partisan of Robespierre, had by his acts, proclamations, and conduct on the 13th of Vendémiaire, shown himself a terrible adversary of the Royalists. And now he counselled the Directory to attempt a *coup d'état*, and offered his troops to support it.

The army of the Rhine and Moselle, less intoxicated by success, jealous no doubt of their more fortunate brethren of Italy, openly proclaimed its contempt for the Directory. The officers, taken from the educated classes, affected aristocratic manners and Girondin opinions. Moreau, envious of Bonaparte, far from volunteering his assistance to the Directory, took in some measure part against it by siding with the Royalists. For five months already he had kept the guilty secret of Pichegru's treason, which he had discovered through some papers taken from an Austrian baggage-wagon, and which, if he had communicated them to the authorities, would have changed the whole aspect of affairs, influenced the late elections, and rendered a *coup d'état* superfluous.

[1] Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, vol. ix., p. 138.

The Directory, therefore, mistrusted the Royalism of the one, and the Jacobin feelings of the other, behind which lurked personal ambition. But there was a third general whose glory was less dazzling, perhaps—it had been wilfully thrown in the shade by Bonaparte—but whose attachment to the Republic was undoubted. Hoche was purely unselfish, and with him the Directory came to an understanding to bring fifteen thousand troops, ready for action, within a certain distance from Paris. Unfortunately the Constitution prohibited the assembling of troops within a certain distance from the capital, and the Councils made alarming objections, to which the Government could but oppose lame explanations. It proposed to have the troops farther removed, and to substitute one of Bonaparte's generals for Hoche, who was threatened with an indictment. Bonaparte sent Augereau, a political nonentity, a simple and honest soldier, from whose ambition nothing was to be feared.

To him the Directory gave the command of Paris, changed the ministry, published the proclamations which Bonaparte had sent from Italy, and appointed Talleyrand-Périgord, former bishop of Autun, to take the management of foreign affairs. Seeing themselves threatened, the Councils prepared for resistance, but, from a want of union between the Monarchists and Constitutionalists, this resistance lacked the energy so necessary at this moment. All they did was to enrol Pichegru and Willot among the number of Inspectors of the Council halls. These Inspectors performed

executive functions in the Council of the Five Hundred, and to them was entrusted the command of the guard of the Legislature. The troops were meanwhile approaching Paris, and on an interpellation to the Government on this subject, the latter exposed the tentative counter-Revolution of the Assembly, declaring that it was determined to save France at all costs.

There being no longer a motive for secrecy; the frightened Royalists made their attempt. Pichegru marched on the Directory, but there being no unity in these efforts, nor a sufficient armed power to execute them, they miscarried through the vigilance of the Directory, who had anticipated their designs by bringing to Paris twelve thousand troops and forty guns, which on the night of the 18th of Fructidor (4th Sept. 1797), occupied the Quais, the Hôtel-de-Ville, the Champs Elysées, and formed a cordon around the Tuileries. The guard of the Legislative surrendered without a struggle, while the Inspectors, who at the first noise of the outbreak had taken possession of the palace, whither they had convoked the Councils, were arrested and sent to the Temple in company with many deputies. Thither they were joined by Barthélemy, taken prisoner at the Luxembourg, his colleague Carnot saving himself from a similar fate by a timely escape. The Paris authorities were suspended, the enthusiastic soldiery making the streets resound with the cry of "Long live the Republic." A copy of the various treasonous papers found in possession of the Royalists was placarded throughout the capital, which remained

profoundly calm, and at six in the morning there was an end of the conspiracy.

The Directory had meanwhile convoked the minorities of the Five Hundred and of the Ancients, which remained devoted to them. The two Councils declared themselves permanent, and voted the deportation of fifty-three deputies who had instigated the revolt. Their places were not to be filled up, and their constituencies were henceforth to be administered and judged by functionaries chosen by the Government. The *émigrés* were ordered to leave France within a fortnight, under penalty of death; the law recalling the banished priests was repealed; the relatives of *émigrés* were once more declared ineligible to public posts; the liberty of the press and organisation of the National Guard were suspended; lastly, the proprietors, editors, and contributors to forty-one newspapers were sentenced to transportation.

In carrying out these sentences, the Directory displayed a greater severity than was absolutely necessary, and than would be justified by the humanity prevalent in times of political calm; but it should not be forgotten that the Royalists had provoked this severity by their unscrupulous attempts at undoing a state of things which had cost France the blood and substance of thousands of her children. The sufferings of the condemned in their places of bondage were, no doubt, terrible, but scarcely more than they deserved. Barthélemy escaped to England, Carnot to Germany. They were succeeded in the Directory by Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau.

To justify its proceedings, the Directory published the treasonous documents of Pichegru, forwarded by Moreau at the first tidings of the late events, but it nevertheless deposed the latter general, giving the command of the two armies of the Rhine to Hoche, who enjoyed his position but a few days, poison—it has been said—making an end of this glorious young soldier at the age of twenty-nine.

Thus terminated the 18th of Fructidor, compelling the partisans of the *ancien régime* to a silence that lasted for seventeen years. The saving of the Revolution by extra-legal means had undone the Constitution, and thrown the military power into relief by showing the value of its aid. It was not surprising that henceforth it should arrogate to itself a supreme position, and endeavour to assume the conduct and government of the country.

Nor had the interior troubles been without influence on the exterior negotiations. Deluded by the hope that the Republicans would succumb to the Royalists, Austria and England especially had shown themselves more difficult and exacting in their demands. However, whether exhausted or really desirous of peace, in order to gain time, Pitt no longer contested the possession of Belgium, abandoned by Austria to France; but his demands proving too exorbitant still, negotiations with England were again broken off.

Those with Austria nearly shared the same fate, mainly through the duplicity it showed, had not Bonaparte, in furtherance of his own ambitious schemes,

eagerly insisted on peace, which was eventually, and after much political manœuvring on both sides, signed at Campo-Formio (17th October). It secured many glorious advantages to France, one of the minor clauses providing for the deliverance of Lafayette and his fellow-prisoners.

To Bonaparte, who had played such an important part in these latter events, this was probably one of the most glorious episodes in his life. It was he who had secured to France the most brilliant and advantageous peace she had ever contracted. The French Republic, which had inaugurated the Revolutionary system in Europe, found itself surrounded by other republics, created by a system, erewhile despised, but now feared, by the humiliated sovereigns whom it had subdued. Bonaparte became the idol of the Revolution. The great sacrifices and heroic efforts of 1793 and 1794 were forgotten, obscured by the dazzling victories of the army of Italy. The hero of the campaign in Italy was everything; those who had contributed to raise him on his present pinnacle were scarcely mentioned. His profound egotism and doubtful honesty in the signing of the last treaty were overlooked. The Directory, mistrusted by the nation which, above all, desired peace, dared not interfere, especially after the rupture of the negotiations with England. The treaty with Austria was published amidst universal joy. Bonaparte was appointed plenipotentiary to the Congress at Rastadt—convened to settle the dispossession of the princes on the left bank of the Rhine—and General-

in-chief of the army that was to operate against England.

He arrived at Rastadt, after concluding the affairs in Italy, having given up Venice to the Austrians, organised a marine with the late republic's vessels in the Adriatic, and leaving thirty thousand troops under Berthier in Lombardy. Foreseeing many delays in the operations of the Congress, he paid a visit to Paris, where the Directory offered him a triumphal entry (10th December), the most imposing of ceremonies celebrated since the Champ-de-Mars *fêtes*. The enthusiasm and excitement were boundless, the country was ready to kneel down at the feet of this sallow-visaged young man, who already strode rapidly to what he shortly became. France and the Revolution seemed to be incarnate in one man; that man was Bonaparte.

§ II.—THE COMING MAN.

(*From* 10*th December*, 1797, *to* 11*th November*, 1799.)

THE grandeur of France lasted but a short time. The Directory was incapable of maintaining it; the golden mean by which order and calm are established being beyond its intellectual scope. The 18th of Fructidor brought in its wake a revival of the Revolutionary situation, by investing the Government with a virtual dictatorship. The reaction against the Royalists continued, military commissions pronounced sentence of death against numerous *émigrés* who had re-entered France; the three Bourbons still left in the country were banished, as well as the servants of the former Court,

the Knights of Malta, and the members of the ancient Parliaments. A law was passed treating the nobles as foreigners, by compelling them to be naturalised, and threatening them with total and perpetual expulsion. The Government connived at the re-opening of the Jacobin clubs; several towns in the south were declared in a state of siege; the harshest measures were enacted against the press; finally, to find its way out of the financial chaos, the Government resorted to devices tantamount to bankruptcy, and which aroused the greatest indignation among those whose income was derived from national securities.

The Directory, however, thought itself sufficiently strong and firmly established to disregard clamour, as long as its arbitrary acts provoked no open resistance; having obtained its power by the aid of the Republican party, it continued to depend on its support. But the clubs were getting weary of the narrow spirit and the far from blameless morals of the five members of the Directory, and commenced to question their actions. The remainder of the Robespierre party raised objections to the proceedings of the 9th of Thermidor, lauded the discarded Constitution of 1793, and declaimed against the executioners of Babeuf. The term for the elections of the year VI. (1798) drew near, when four hundred and thirty-seven deputies had to be elected, the increase over ordinary times being due to the seats left vacant by the 18th of Fructidor. The Royalists being now entirely excluded from public affairs, the Republicans calculated upon constituting the majority in the

Councils. At this the Directory grew alarmed; it published proclamations against the anarchists; it threatened to annul the elections, if they should prove hostile; it fomented discord in the electoral assemblies, which were nearly everywhere divided, the majority electing ultra-Republicans, the minority partisans of the Directory. Then the Government, by virtue of a law that made it the supreme arbiter, annulled the elections of the majority, and approved those of the minority (May 11th); a proceeding incurring the opposition of all honest-minded people, who could not but condemn authorities whose only mode of vanquishing opposition was by *coups d'état*.

Simultaneous with the entering of the newly-elected members upon their functions, François de Neufchâteau retired from the Directory, and was replaced by Treilhard. The new member was, like Rewbell, Lareveillère, and Merlin, a lawyer. It would no doubt have been better to have called in a soldier, seeing that the army was already possessed of all the Revolutionary power; but the Government and the legislative Councils were fast rushing on to their own destruction by their suicidal and ill-advised proceedings, which made the overthrow of the Constitution a mere matter of time. For at no moment was the co-operation of men of action and business capacities so necessary as now.

Peace was the first indispensable condition of the country. Even Bonaparte was agreed upon this, but the Government, feeling the want of a fictitious glory, seemed bent upon a prolongation of war, the better to

hide its political shortcomings. It drew the nation's attention to the exterior, and kept employed three hundred thousand soldiers, whose disbanding could not have been accomplished without danger. These hitherto obscure citizens, suddenly called to power, intoxicated by the grandeur of their position, excited by the clamour of the Revolution, aimed at imitating the Roman senate, whose history they scarcely understood. They donned its theatrical costume, they reproduced its noble language and brilliant Pagan feasts. They thought nothing could be better than to follow its aggressive policy by democratising Europe, and to surround France with a belt of allied or vassal Republics; they propagated Republicanism, not as the Convention had done, to defend themselves, but blinded by a Revolutionary and philosophical fanaticism. Two things resulted from this: the democrats in every country knew that in an insurrection they could be sure of the support of France; the threatened monarchs also knowing this, crushed the least popular symptoms with an iron hand.

The whole of Italy had suffered from the Revolutionary fever, but especially the Papal States, governed by imbecile and weak old men, and contiguous to the newly-founded Cisalpine Republic. At Rome, the democrats, frustrated in their attempts and pursued by the pontifical troops, had taken refuge in the house of the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, the general's elder brother (born 1768). In the struggle that ensued the soldiers fired on the ambassador and killed an *attaché*, General Duphot (28th December, 1797.)

Joseph Bonaparte immediately left the town. The Pope offered reparation and apologies, rejected by the Directory, which ordered the army of Italy to enter Rome. Upon its appearance the democrats proclaimed the Roman Republic, and asked France for a constitution (15th February, 1798). The Pope was conducted to Pisa, then to Savona, and afterwards to Valence, in the south of France, where he died the following year.

Similar democratic ideas were fermenting in Switzerland, hitherto almost feudal in her propensities, where the towns dominated the rural districts, and the citizen-aristocracy was full of prejudice and pride. The senate of Berne hated France and her Revolution; and the town itself was the head-quarters of the *émigrés*. Switzerland would have eagerly joined the former Coalition, but a knowledge of her own impotency prevented her. The Committee of Public Salvation had been more circumspect in its outward policy than in its home acts, had taken advantage of the neutrality of the thirteen small cantons guarding France on her most vulnerable point, and had kept on friendly terms with them, the more so as Switzerland was then the only means by which France communicated with the Continent. The Directory was not so prudent. It invented pretexts for aggression, and after some sharp but decisive battles, Switzerland was compelled to submit, and the Helvetian Republic was proclaimed (12th April).

These Swiss and Roman republics were calculated to do more harm than good to France. The deposition of the Pope lent a colour to the declamation of the

Royalists against the atheism of the Revolution, besides, the garrisoning of Rome weakened the military position in other parts of Italy. The conquest of Switzerland, a republican country, respected even by monarchs, violated a neutrality to none more useful than to France herself; it converted the Alps, until now a common barrier, into a universal battle-ground; it became an example to foreigners, who sixteen years afterwards made of Switzerland the high road to Paris. Yet, though continually fighting beyond the frontiers of France, the Directory did not neglect its real duty, to provide for a maritime war.

The probability for such a war became more and more apparent. Immense preparations were made against England. A hundred thousand troops were assembled on the coasts; the Government contracted a loan of eighty million francs; Bonaparte surveyed the most advantageous positions; the navy awakened from its long lethargy and resumed its energy. The co-operation of Spain and Holland was scarcely counted upon, both countries being much enfeebled by their late naval reverses. England was not slow in making counter-preparations, scarcely reassured by the aspects of affairs in Ireland and in her Indian colonies.

Though England solicited Austria to enter into a new treaty with her, the Directory sent aid neither to Tippoo Sahib nor to the insurgent Irish, both continually imploring France to come to their assistance. This latter country was determined to carry the war into the British Islands, a project frustrated by the over-weening ambition

of Bonaparte, who since his return from Italy, was the foremost man in the country. Wherever he appeared the people never wearied of applauding him, the Directory consulted him on all political questions, and certain members of the Councils went so far as to advise him to place himself at the head of the Republic. Whatever his own hopes and aspirations may have been, the young general undoubtedly knew to bide his time. For the present, instead of listening to the promptings of his friends, he pretended to be profoundly immersed in pleasures and sciences, distributing his leisure between them and his newly-wedded wife, Josephine, widow of the general Beauharnais. Suspected and watched by the Directory, he blamed the Government for many of its acts, but he blamed with moderation, whilst openly avowing his attachment to the Constitution. As he said afterwards, "he did not feel strong enough as yet to walk alone." The Directory had not rendered itself sufficiently odious and contemptible, time would mend these matters, and he himself was dreaming of greater military glory than he had attained as yet. Consequently he proposed to the Directory an expedition to Egypt, which country belonged but nominally to the Turks, it being in reality swayed by the Mamelukes and Circassians, called thither by the Sultans to defend it, and who held the inhabitants in a most debasing slavery. The conquest of Egypt would ruin English commerce in the East, either by establishing there a trading station, or by creating a flourishing colony which should command the Mediterranean.

The project had been discussed more than once in former days, hence the Directory consented to it not without a great deal of difficulty, seeing that it destroyed France's alliance with the Porte, deprived the country of an entire army, and was likely to compromise the navy. Affairs had, however, come to such a pass, that it was scarcely deemed wise to refuse anything to the successful young general. The plan had also an illusive grandeur that went far to seduce the Directory into acquiescence; besides, the growing reputation of Bonaparte became irksome, and the Government was not loth to rid itself for a time of so formidable a rival for public favour. The preparations were conducted with the greatest activity, though their purport remained a secret; the troops assembled on the Mediterranean coasts were supposed to be the left wing of the army intended for England.

No more inauspicious moment could have been chosen, for peace was far from assured on the Continent. Pitt was intriguing with all his might for a new coalition; Naples felt indignant at the overthrow of the Pope, and at the Republic lodged at its very gates; Austria was making considerable armaments; nor did the Rastadt Congress seem disposed to abandon the left bank of the Rhine, or to overturn the Germanic Constitution by abolishing the three ecclesiastical electorates. Finally, the five republics established by France on her frontiers were torn by internal anarchy and impotence; their creation had been a source of alarm to the crowned heads of Europe, and their very

existence proved that they were but so many annexes of France under another name. Holland was in a similar plight. The Cisalpine Republic already endeavoured to throw off the French yoke; Rome was pillaged by the agents of the Directory and by Masséna, while the troops endured the greatest misery. The soldiers revolted against their general, and the populace against the French; the Roman insurgents were vanquished, but the army compelled Masséna to resign.

Some of the Swiss cantons refused to adopt the Constitution; others, dissatisfied, demanded the support of Austria, while the agents of the Directory imposed the most burthensome requisitions upon them.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles, the Directory and Bonaparte continued their preparations. Thirty-six thousand troops, two thousand five hundred of which were cavalry—nearly all soldiers of the army of Italy—ten thousand sailors, thirty frigates, seventy-two smaller vessels, and four hundred transport ships, were assembled at Toulon, Genoa, Castellana, Ajaccio, and Civita-Vecchia. Besides six generals of divisions, Bonaparte was accompanied by his comrades in arms of Italy. Admiral Brueys, having under him Gantheaume, Villeneuve, Decrès, and Ducayla, commanded the fleet, whilst it was resolved that Talleyrand should start for Constantinople, to explain to the Porte the purport of the expedition.

Bonaparte sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May, picking up on the way the convoys of Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita-Vecchia, after which he steered for

Malta, an island which he had coveted for a long time, as being, with Corfu, the means of direct communication between Toulon and Alexandria, and of assuring to France the supremacy on the Mediterranean. On the 10th of June, the fortress of Valetta surrendered, secured by secret intelligence with the Grand Master and some of the Knights, who sailed with Bonaparte, General Vaubois being left behind with three thousand men to defend the island (2nd July).

Ten days afterwards the fleet arrived in sight of Alexandria, having successfully evaded the English under Nelson, who, uncertain of the destination of the expedition, swept the Mediterranean in every direction. Immediately on landing, Bonaparte collected about five thousand troops, with whom he marched on the town, taking it by storm, after a violent struggle. Leaving behind three thousand men under Kléber, who was wounded, he and the rest of the army pursued their road to Cairo, his intention being to reach it before the period when the Nile overflows its banks. A flotilla, with provisions and ammunition, ascended that stream, while the army traversed the desert of Damanhour. Both united at Ramanieh, a small town on the Nile, and the march was resumed.

Of the two Beys who ruled Egypt, one, Ibrahim, cared for nothing but to keep his accumulated wealth, and remained passive on the right bank of the Nile, near Cairo; the other, Mourad, a young and doughty warrior, came to meet the French, and awaited them at Chebreiss, at the head of twelve hundred Mamelukes,

between four and five thousand Arabs, and several gunboats. Bonaparte formed his five divisions into squares, flanking and covering each other, against which living citadels the Mamelukes threw themselves in vain in a headlong charge. A murderous fire compelled them to fly. The march was then resumed for seven days longer through an almost deserted country, under a scorching sun, the French troops suffering the greatest hardships, until they arrived within sight of the Pyramids, near Cairo, where Mourad had collected on the left bank of the Nile all his forces, consisting of six thousand Mamelukes and twenty thousand Arabs. The Orientals occupied an entrenched camp in front of the town, between the river and the Pyramids, while Ibrahim, with his flotilla, was protecting the right bank of the Nile, and preventing the approach to Cairo (21st July). The cloudless sky, the brilliant hosts of the Mameluke horsemen, their costly accoutrements glistening in the bright sunlight, filled the French troops with enthusiasm, increased by Bonaparte's eloquent though rather bombastic proclamation. "Remember," he said, "that from the summit of these pyramids forty centuries contemplate your actions." He again drew up his five divisions into hollow squares six deep, veering considerably to the right, in order to be beyond the reach of the enemy's cannon in their entrenched camp. Mourad threw himself against the first square, commanded by Desaix, which received the shock without budging, scattering its assailants by a terrific musketry fire. The second square, being attacked next, dealt out an equally warm

welcome, forcing the Mamelukes to retrace their steps, when the third square catching them in the rear, completely routed them. The two squares which, until now, had remained inactive, took the camp by storm, and drove its defenders into the Nile. Mourad, with the remnant of his army, retired into Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim, after setting fire to his ships, beat a retreat into Syria. Two French divisions occupied the Delta. The greatest hopes of a permanent occupation of the country were entertained, when a great disaster took place that ruined the prospects of the expedition.

The French fleet had received orders to anchor at Alexandria or Corfu, and not to await the arrival of the English in the open roads of Aboukir. Finding the harbour of Alexandria too shallow, Brueys resolved to set sail for Corfu, but he lingered for tidings of the surrender of Cairo. Nelson, meanwhile, informed of the landing of the French, hastened to Alexandria, and on the first of August came in sight of the French fleet, composed of thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, and forming a semi-circle with its convex side towards the sea, and supported on the right by the batteries of the fort of Aboukir. The English had fourteen ships of the line and three frigates, with which Nelson determined to attack at once, though it was six o'clock at night (August 1st). At the left of the French line there was an opening, defended by a small island, which was thought impassable; that part of the coast was destitute of batteries, and a third of the crews was on land. The English boldly despatched five

vessels to take up a position between the island and the coast, thus catching the enemy's centre and left between two fires. In about an hour three French and two English vessels were disabled. Brueys signalled his right, composed of five ships, to come to his aid, and to take the enemy's line from the exterior; the signal was not seen, and Villeneuve, commanding the five ships, remained stationary. Throughout the evening and part of the night the battle, generally called "the Battle of the Nile," raged with unexampled violence. Nine of the French line-of-battle ships were taken, and two were burnt; Brueys was cut in two by a cannon-ball; and his ship, with a hundred and twenty guns and a thousand men on board, took fire, and was blown up. Villeneuve thought the battle lost, and set sail for Malta with two ships of the line and two frigates. The rest of the French fleet was boarded or destroyed. The Egyptian expedition was irrevocably ruined, for the French, shut up in the conquered country, could be attacked by troops brought from the exterior; they could but die or capitulate.

Talleyrand-Périgord had not gone to Constantinople, and the money sent by him was never received. The Porte declared war against the French, and entered into an alliance with Russia and England (12th August). A Russian fleet sailed from Sebastopol, and blockaded the Ionian Islands; the English vessels found every Turkish port open to them, and gained possession of the Levant trade, to the detriment of France. Thus the failure of the Egyptian expedition delivered the Ottoman Empire into the hands of two Powers, the one

intent upon its dismemberment, the other eager to make itself master of its commerce; it gave England the supremacy in the Mediterranean; it inaugurated the appearance of Russia in southern Europe; it was the signal for a second coalition. For the Treaty of Campo-Formio was evidently nothing better than a truce between two incompatible systems, a Monarchy and a Republic. The strife against France was not so much for personal interest as for the destruction of those principles of which she made herself the missionary. England had become the leader in the crusade against these principles, but Austria, Naples, and Russia now eagerly responded to her appeal.

The last State, under Catherine, had but taken a nominal part in the first Coalition, being too much occupied with the annihilation of Poland, which had been the only obstacle to her taking rank with the other European powers. But now Catherine was dead, Paul I., her son and successor, took the *émigrés* in his pay, offered the Pretender an asylum at Mittau, promised his protection to the Congress at Rastadt, and fitted out 100,000 troops.

Naples had been in a great ferment since the creation of the Roman Republic. The nobles and middle classes, imbued with French ideas, detested a Court sold to the English, and presided over by the imbecile Ferdinand, who left the cares of his government to his dissolute Queen. She hated the French, and now solicited Tuscany and Piedmont to unite with her to deliver Italy from the sway of these Republicans.

The Austrian Court, of which Bonaparte had been the conscious or unconscious dupe, instead of disarming after the Treaty of Campo-Formio, continued its armaments with redoubled vigour, and now demanded indemnities, on the pretext that it had suffered from the Republican system which the French introduced into Switzerland and Italy. The Directory very naturally refused to accede to this; and thereupon Austria prepared for war, and endeavoured to drag Prussia and the German Empire into it (16th November, 1797). But Frederick William's successor and the princes of the empire declined to recommence hostilities with France, of which they had reason to fear the enmity, though at present she was scarcely able to resist a second coalition.

The French nation, in fact, was sincerely eager for peace. It mistrusted the Government, bitterly accusing it of having compromised the Revolution by its late deplorable policy, dishonesty, and over-bearing conduct. The budget of the year VI., notwithstanding the reduction of the debt, still showed a deficit of sixty-two million francs; the army, which had not been recruited since the wholesale levy of 1793, was, since the peace, reduced to its ordinary footing, by leaves of absence and desertions. With the exception of Spain, the country had no allies; the five newly-created Republics were rather hostile than otherwise, on account of the anarchy introduced by the agents of the Directory, who pillaged right and left, destroyed churches and altars, and made the Revolution a by-word and a term of reproach.

Nevertheless, and though there was *little* unity

amongst them, the Councils and the Directory prepared their measures of defence; they increased the revenue, by creating a tax on doors and windows; they authorised the sale of national property to the amount of one hundred and twenty-five millions of francs; and finally, on the report of Jourdan, they passed the famous law of conscription (5th September), which compelled every Frenchman to serve in the army from the age of twenty to that of twenty-five, the first immediate levy to consist of two hundred thousand troops.

When the victory of the Nile became known at Naples the court was a prey to frenzied excitement. Taxes had already been doubled, a fifth of the population called to arms, the nobles and middle-classes were tortured into submission. And when the report spread that the Russians were marching through Poland, it was resolved to commence hostilities by attacking the Roman Republic, and to rouse Piedmont and Tuscany to rebellion. Forty thousand Neapolitans, scarcely provided with arms, headed by the Austrian general Mack, made their way into the Roman states, guarded only by eighteen thousand French troops, dispersed between the two seas (12th November). Championnet, their commander, abandoned Rome, took up a position on the Tiber, near Civita-Castellana, and concentrated all his forces on that point. The King of Naples entered Rome, while Mack went to encounter Championnet. The latter beat him, routed or captured the best of his troops, and compelled him to retire in disorder to the Neapolitan territory. Championnet,

now at the head of twenty-five thousand men, returned to Rome, previous to marching on Naples, where the greatest disorder prevailed. At the news of his approach the Court armed the *lazzaroni*, and fled with its treasures to the English fleet, abandoning the town to pillage and anarchy (20th Dec., 1798). Mack, seeing his army deserting him, and his officers making common cause with the Republicans, concluded an armistice with Championnet, but his soldiers revolted and compelled him to seek safety in the French camp. On Championnet's appearance before Naples, which the *lazzaroni* defended with fury, a violent battle ensued, lasting for three days; however, some of the citizens delivered the fort of St. Elmo to the French, and then the mob laid down its arms (23rd January, 1799). The Parthenopeian Republic was immediately proclaimed, a provisional government organised, the citizens formed themselves into a National Guard, and the kingdom accepted the Revolution. The demand of Championnet for a war contribution of twenty-seven million francs roused the Calabrians to revolt; anarchy prevailed everywhere; commissioners were sent by the Directory to re-establish order. The French general had them arrested, but he was deposed and succeeded by Macdonald.

In commencing its aggression the court of Naples had counted on the aid of the King of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But Piedmont, placed between three republics, was herself sharing the Revolutionary ferment; the King, who had concluded an alliance with Austria, proscribed the democrats, who, in

their turn, declared war against him by means of the Ligurian Republic, whither they had fled. When Championnet was compelled to evacuate Rome, the Directory, afraid that Sardinia would harass the French rear, had ordered Joubert, commanding the army of Italy, to occupy Piedmont. The Piedmontese troops opened every place to the French, entered into their ranks, and the King was forced to give up all claims to Piedmont, and to take refuge in Sardinia (8th Dec., 1798). Tuscany being also occupied by the Republican troops, the moment war was declared against Austria, Italy was virtually under French dominion.

These events but increased the enmity of the Coalition, which hurried its preparations, while the Directory, cheered by its successes, resolved to take the offensive on all points, convinced that Revolutionary enthusiasm would compensate for the lack of resources. In the present struggle, however, the conditions of warfare were changed. The lines of invasion were no longer, as formerly, short and isolated, but stretched from the Zuyder Zee to the Gulf of Tarentum, open to be attacked in Holland from the rear, and at Naples by the English fleet. Switzerland, it is true, offered many advantages to offensive movements by permitting the French to issue from all sides on the Adige, the Inn, and the Danube, but a great number of troops was required to risk such operations, and the Republic had only a hundred and seventy thousand soldiers available, while its opponents disposed of nearly double that number. If, under such circumstances, France took the

offensive, she risked uncovering her most vulnerable flank, by opening the Swiss roads to the enemy. Acting upon a strategical maxim, current in those days, both parties were rather disposed to mass their forces upon elevated points, whence they could dominate the valleys lying at their feet; consequently they prepared to dispute each other the possession of the highest glaciers and most desolate regions of Europe.

Seventy thousand troops, under the Archduke Charles, occupied Bavaria; General Hotze occupied the Vorarlberg with five-and-twenty thousand men; Bellegarde was with forty-five thousand in the Tyrol; and seventy thousand guarded the line of the Adige, headed by Marshal Kray. Eighty thousand Russians, in two equal divisions, were on their way to join the Austrians. The division under Suwarroff was to operate with Kray, that one under Korsakoff with the Archduke. Finally, forty thousand English and Russians were to land in Holland, and twenty thousand English and Sicilians in Naples.

The Directory, instead of concentrating its forces on the Adige and near the sources of the Danube, divided them. Fifteen thousand troops were posted in Holland, under Brune; eight thousand at Mayence, under Bernadotte; forty thousand from Strasburg to Bâle, under Jourdan; thirty thousand in Switzerland, under Masséna; fifty thousand on the Adige, under Schérer; thirty thousand at Naples, under Macdonald. These various divisions were in reality meant to form but one army, of which Masséna was the centre, Jourdan and

Schérer the wings, Brune and Macdonald the extremities. To Masséna was confided the principal operation, namely, to possess himself of the central Alps, in order to isolate the two imperial armies of the Adige and Danube, and to neutralise their efforts.

The Coalition having hit upon the same plan as the Directory, ordered the Austrians under Bellegarde to invade the Grisons, while on the other side a division was to descend into the Valteline. Masséna's right wing, under Lecourbe, detached to confront Bellegarde, defeated him, crossed the upper Rhine and the Albula, and making its way through the most difficult part of the Alps, reached the Inn, which it descended as far as Martinsbruck, fighting every inch of the road. Schérer's left wing, under Dessoles, hastened to the Valteline, crossed Mount Tonal, descended on the upper Adige, performed marvels of valour, and succeeded in joining operations with Lecourbe. While these two generals were spreading terror in the Tyrol, Masséna made himself master of the Rhine from its sources to the lake of Constance, receiving but one check in the fruitless siege of Feldkirch, a position he coveted in order to be able to support with his right wing the army of the Danube, or with his left that of Italy. This check compelled Lecourbe and Dessoles to slacken their progress, and the various events on the Danube and the Po necessitated their recall in a short time.

Jourdan had crossed the Rhine at Kehl, Bâle, and Schaffhausen (1st March), penetrated into the defile of the upper Danube, and reached the village

of Ostrach, where he was confronted by the Archduke Charles, who had passed the Iller, and who, after a sanguinary battle, compelled him to retreat upon Tutlingen. The tidings of Masséna's success having reached Jourdan, he wished to support it by marching to Stockach, the key to the roads of Switzerland and Germany, but he was once more defeated (25th March), and retreated, not into Switzerland, whence he could have joined Masséna, but to the Rhine, which he imagined to be threatened. In the meanwhile the Archduke remained passive until the news of his victory would have forced Lecourbe and Masséna to vacate the Tyrol. This proved the salvation of Jourdan, who recrossed the river without hindrance.

In Italy the Directory had given orders to Schérer to force the Adige, and to drive the Austrians over the Piave and the Brenta, but the French possessed no longer, as in 1796, the important positions of Verona and Legnago. In order to be able to cross, Schérer attacked the entrenched camp of Pastrengo, established between the lake of Garda and the river in front of Rivoli, while he made a feint on Verona and Legnago. The camp was carried, the Austrians losing eight thousand men (25th March, 1799), but the passage of the Adige was useless, it leading to impassable mountains at the back of Verona, and Serrurier's division, which had crossed to the other side of the river, at Polo, to surprise the place from the north, was beaten back with considerable loss. Schérer attempted to force the lower Adige, but at the moment of starting Kray issued

from Verona and offered him battle at Magnano (5th April). The Austrians, who outnumbered the French by fifteen thousand men, defeated, and compelled them to retire on the Molinella. Schérer lost his head, fled precipitately, and did not stop until he had put a safe distance between himself and the enemy, though Kray in no way profited by this flight, having decided to await the coming of the Russians while keeping the lines of the Mincio. The battles of Stockach and Magnano brought out all the vices inherent in the old system of warfare as practised by the Directory, the possession of the ridges of the Alps having in no way influenced the operations on the Po and the Danube. The army of Switzerland, under Masséna, dispersed in the mountains, with both its flanks threatened, had no other means of salvation than to fall back behind the Rhine, whence it could defend Switzerland, now the frontier of France.

The Congress of Rastadt still continued its discussions, for France was at war with the emperor, not with the German Empire; it was even hoped that the Diet would persist in its neutrality. But the battle of Stockach changed the disposition of the German princes. Most of the ministers left Rastadt, and the Congress was hemmed in by Austrian troops, who compelled it to separate. The French Commissioners were told to depart immediately, and a safe conduct was refused to them. It is said that the Austrian Cabinet had ordered them to be arrested, to be robbed of their documents, and to be ill-treated in return for the obstinacy and pride which they had displayed during the negotiations. At about

fifty yards from the town some Austrian hussars stopped their carriage, demanded their names, made them alight, and assailed them with the naked sword, killing two, Bonnier and Roberjot, while the third, Jean Debry, severely wounded, succeeded in crawling back, half dead, to Rastadt, where the Prussian Minister sheltered him.

Transported with indignation at this outrage, the Directory made an appeal to the nation, which responded with an enthusiasm unparalleled since 1793. The conscription lists were immediately filled, reinforcements sent to all the armies. Those of the Danube and Switzerland were united under Masséna; Macdonald was ordered to leave the kingdom of Naples, but to garrison her most strategic points; and the command of the army of Italy was given to Moreau.

The army of Masséna consisted of one hundred thousand men, scattered over a line stretching from the St. Gothard to Dusseldorf. Lecourbe on his right, covered the Rhine from its sources to the lake of Constance; Masséna himself was stationed with his army from that lake to Bâle; Bernadotte was on his left from Bâle to Dusseldorf, occupying a secondary position, where the operations were not likely to assume any importance. The Austrians concentrated all their efforts on the two sides of the great angle formed by the Rhine from its sources to Bâle; the Archduke threatening the line from Bâle to the lake; Hotze from the lake to Reichenau. As for Bellegarde, he had instructions to take the position of the St. Gothard, thence to pass into Italy and to form the right wing

of Suwarroff's army. Masséna could not maintain his position on the line of the Rhine; the small Swiss cantons in his rear having revolted, and Hotze having taken Luciensteg and Coire, he apprehended being cut off from his right, and saw his left harassed by the Archduke, who could cross the river without any obstacle. In this emergency Massena abandoned the line of the Rhine, falling back upon a shorter one: that behind the Thur. Hotze crossed at Feldkirch (22nd May), the Archduke at Stein. Masséna endeavoured to prevent their junction, but though he defeated them at Frauenfeld, he was himself compelled to retreat upon the rivers Limmat and Linth. Bellegarde, having forced Lecourbe to abandon the St. Gothard, the latter was compelled to fall back into the valley of the Reuss, where he fought several engagements and opened communications with Masséna by way of Altdorf, so that the French lines formed a semi-circle from the sources of the Reuss to the confluence of the Aar. Masséna entrenched himself on the heights of Zurich in front of the town, where he was attacked by the Archduke, the battle extending over two days, but though the French general remained the conqueror he decided to vacate the position and to retire to the heights of Mount Albis, between Lucerne and Zurich, where he remained on the defensive for three months. Lecourbe retook the St. Gothard, and occupied the two back slopes of the Bernese Alps, by a series of masterly manœuvres and battles, which remain up to this day the most glorious examples of mountain warfare.

Bellegarde descended into Italy, while Hotze guarded the Wallenstätter See, and the Archduke occupied Zurich in expectation of the arrival of Korsakoff.

Suwarroff (born 1730) had meanwhile arrived on the Mincio with thirty thousand troops (14th April). Still fresh from the massacre of Praga, the victor of the Turks and Poles haughtily announced himself as the deliverer of Italy. His advent was the signal for a revolt of nearly all the provinces, tired of the dominion but above all of the impiety of the French. Suwarroff took the command of the united Austrians and Russians, and with his usual impetuosity marched to the Adda, where the French, though only having twenty-eight thousand troops, enthusiastically awaited the appearance of the "northern slaves." Unfortunately, the French army was thinly spread over a long line from Lecco to Lodi, and Moreau, who had accepted the command of the troops demoralised by the imbecility of Schérer, was ready to sacrifice himself to his patriotism, but expected nothing less than a crushing defeat. Suwarroff made a rush for the passage of the Adda at Cassano, broke the centre of the French army, which was isolated from its wings, surrounded the right, and took three thousand prisoners (27th April). Moreau, reduced to twenty-two thousand combatants, effected his retreat in perfect order, evacuated Milan with all the Cisalpine authorities; sent the Italian families, which had taken refuge in the French ranks, into Savoy by way of Turin; crossed the Po, took up an excellent position at the foot of the northern slope and principal debouches of the Apennines, whence he could

communicate with France, and with the army of Naples marching to his relief.

Suwarroff entered Milan in triumph, where he was joined by Bellegarde, the latter's contingent swelling his army to a hundred thousand men, who, however, were dispersed between Mantua and Turin: Kray, with twenty-five thousand, besieging the former place; Ott and the Prince of Hohenzollern, with an equal number, being in the duchy of Modena to stop the advance of the French under Macdonald; while another fifteen thousand were blockading the citadel of Milan, leaving after all to Suwarroff but forty thousand men. With these he attempted to harass Moreau's position, but was twice repulsed, after which he invested Turin, and incited Piedmont to revolt in the rear of the French. The inhabitants of Turin gave up the town to the Russians, the insurgent Piedmontese made themselves masters of Ceva. Moreau's position became critical; he detached from his right a division under General Victor, despatching it towards Bobbio to guard the Apennines, and to effect a communication with Macdonald (18th May); then fell back by ascending the Tanaro up to Ceva; but he failed in carrying the place, which commanded the principal issues of the Maritime Alps. Disinclined to retire by the Col de Tende, as leading him too far from Genoa and Macdonald, his engineers opened in four days a road for his army, artillery, and chariots, across the Maritime Alps by way of the St. Bernard. Moreau arrived at Savona and at Genoa, and from there pushed his vanguard by the

Col of Bochetta on Novi, while waiting for Macdonald. He had but fifteen thousand troops left. Suwarroff, instead of harassing this masterly retreat, besieged Alessandria and the citadel of Turin, pushed his troops on Coni, Pignerol, and Suza, and threatened the entry to France. The Republican armies seemed lost. Behind them everything was anarchy and revolt; there was no secure place to fall back upon.

Macdonald, having left five thousand men at Naples, Capua, and Gaeta, and three thousand in the Roman States, arrived at Florence. He could effect a junction with Moreau by keeping along the sea-shore, sheltered from the enemy, as far as Genoa, but this road was impracticable to his artillery, and left the mountains to reconquer in case he should resume the offensive. He resolved, in concert with Moreau, whom he had appointed to meet at Placentia, to cross the Apennines, to advance towards Tortona, and to fall on the midst of the enemy's troops, dispersed from Turin to Mantua; which would at one stroke give him the possession of the Cisalpine regions. He crossed the Col of Pontremoli and joined the Victor division; but instead of allowing his army to remain protected by the mountains and waiting until Moreau had debouched upon Tortona, he rushed to Modena, where he crushed the Prince of Hohenzollern, then came back to Placentia, to fall on the division of Ott.

At these tidings of Macdonald's march, Suwarroff quitted Turin, crossed the Po, concentrated from fifty to sixty thousand troops towards Voghera, left Bellegarde

with fifteen thousand men before Tortona to stop Moreau, and rapidly marched upon Placentia, instructing Ott to fall back with his troops upon the main army. He just arrived at the Tidone torrent when the latter general had been defeated by Macdonald, and drove the French over the Trebbia (17th June). Macdonald had left two divisions on the Nura, and had barely eighteen thousand troops wherewith to confront the forty thousand of Suwarroff. He merely wanted to remain on the defensive, but being attacked the next morning, he, after a violent combat, managed to retain his position. The third day, having united his divisions, amounting in all to twenty-four thousand men as against thirty-six thousand Russians, a fresh battle was fought, in which the French, after a most sanguinary struggle, were obliged to retreat towards the Apennines, by the valley of the Taro. They had lost ten thousand men in three days. The Russians pursued Macdonald, but had to give up the chase, Moreau now appearing in their rear.

Moreau having started from Novi with twelve thousand men, had thrown himself upon Bellegarde, and inflicted upon the Austrian general a signal defeat at Cassina-Grossa; he was marching towards Placentia, when hearing the news of the battle of the Trebbia, he halted immediately. Suwarroff, abandoning the pursuit of Macdonald, was hastening to encounter Moreau, but the latter rapidly regained Novi and the Apennines, and effected close to Genoa his junction with the army of Naples, which had made its way through the pass of Spezia, and arrived harassed, reduced by half, and

nearly destitute of artillery (27th June). Macdonald (1765–1840) was dismissed from his command, and Moreau, notwithstanding his great services, appointed to the army of the Rhine, which was in the course of formation. The army of Italy was recruited and reorganised, and took the field with renewed energy, undaunted by its late reverses.

Joubert (born 1769) had been named its commander; he, however, begged Moreau to direct its first operations, to which the modest and disinterested soldier consented. Suwarroff had scarcely profited by his late victories; he awaited the surrender of Mantua and Alessandria, to repair to the Genoese mountains. The new French general, finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, full of ardour, resolved to descend into the plain to relieve these two places. For this purpose, he debouched on the Bochetta; but at his arrival at Novi he was informed of their surrender by the appearance of the two besieging divisions, which increased the enemy's forces to sixty thousand. He wanted to retreat, but attacked by Suwarroff, he was killed in the first charge, and Moreau took the command. This battle (15th August) was the most terrible of the whole campaign; the French resisted with unmoved calmness the onslaught of the masses which the Russian general hurled against them; but, outnumbered and beaten, they were compelled to effect their retreat by Gavi into the Apennines, having lost ten thousand men in prisoners and killed. Suwarroff, who had left about the same number of men on the field, desisted from his plan of re-

pairing to the Genoese mountains, and contented himself with investing Tortona, which surrendered a month after.

Italy was lost to the French. The Cisalpine Republic had ceased to exist. The King of Piedmont and the Grand Duke of Tuscany prepared to re-enter their capitals. In the kingdom of Naples the French garrisons were obliged to surrender. Naples itself, besieged by the English and the mountaineers, capitulated (13th July); the Queen, assisted by Nelson, violated the treaty of amnesty; thirty thousand patriots were incarcerated, and during six months those who had contributed in the slightest way to the establishment of the Republic were handed over to the executioner. In the Roman States, General Garnier, with five thousand French and Italians, made an heroic stand against the insurgents of the Romagna, the English squadrons, six thousand Russians, and six thousand Sicilians. Nothing but an Austrian division, added to his numerous assailants, could compel him to sign a treaty, assuring him an honourable retreat into France.

While the frontier was threatened in Switzerland and in the Apennines, a formidable expedition left England to subjugate Holland, and to invade France through the north. Forty thousand Anglo-Russians, commanded by the Duke of York, and supported by a large fleet, landed at the Helder (27th August). Brune, with an inferior number of troops, attempted to drive them into the sea, but he himself was repulsed, being obliged to allow them to encamp in the Zype, a

drained marsh, cut by dykes and canals. The British fleet anchored at Texel; the Dutch sailors revolted, and surrendered nine vessels to the English. Terror spread everywhere through the north.

Reverses had been coming apace upon the French. Fifteen hundred men, sent to Ireland under General Humbert to take part in the insurrection, arrived when too late, and were compelled to surrender (8th Sept., 1798), while the seven frigates sent to their relief were captured. Minorca had been taken (15th Nov., 1798), and Malta blockaded by the English. The Russians made themselves master of Corfu, and of the rest of the Ionian possessions, defended during four months by eighteen hundred men against twelve thousand, supported by a fleet of forty vessels. Finally, it was reported that the army of Egypt had been vanquished before Acre, and that Tippoo Sahib, conquered by the English, had perished on the breach of his capital.

A universal cry arose against the Government, accused of having ruined the country's magnificent position by provoking war and sending Bonaparte into exile with his thirty thousand valiant soldiers, as well as of having brought on these disasters by its incapacity, ignorance, and bad faith. In vain the Directory endeavoured to revive the enthusiasm of 1793. The nation, weary of the sacrifices of the last ten years, responded not to the appeal of a tyrannical Government. France desired nothing else but peace, order, and a legal sway. Every one's hand and voice were, from conflicting motives, raised against the Directory.

Though many of the grievances were well founded, this wholesale accusation was unjust, and especially where it implicated the four honest, though mediocre, lawyers, who were members of the Government; while Barras, more guilty than any, retained his popularity. The great crime of the Government was that it did not understand the Revolutionary situation, from which the country had not emerged as yet. Its fall became unavoidable, each party doing its utmost to hasten it; the Legislative, to avenge the 18th of Fructidor and the annulling of the elections; the army, which laid all the reverses at its door; the Moderates, offended by its incapacity; the Royalists and Jacobins whom it had persecuted alternately, and who were now raising their heads, the first in the south and west, the second in Paris.

Rewbell (1747–1807), detested and attacked on account of his overbearing and morose disposition, had to retire from the Directory. He was replaced by Siéyès, who was thought to have entered the Government in order to destroy it, and who, being an avowed enemy of the Constitution of the year III., was made the rallying-point of all the malcontents. The new elections had introduced into both the Councils many patriots, determined to upset the Directorial tyranny, and Lucien Bonaparte (born 1775), one of the Five Hundred, assumed their leadership. The Legislative, entirely hostile to the Government, harassed the Directors by depriving them of the extraordinary powers granted to them on the 18th of Fructidor, by demanding them

to account for the continued financial deficits, and by insisting that they should repeal the laws against the liberty of the press. Lareveillère was especially singled out as the butt for these persecutions, having incurred their contempt by his pretensions as the chief of a certain theological sect, though in reality he was an unselfish and courageous patriot. Under the influence of the newly-imported democratical party, the Councils declared themselves permanent, and solemnly demanded of the Directory a report upon the situation of the Republic. From the various speeches and diatribes this would seem to have been the preliminary to an act of indictment against the Directors, which purpose was not left concealed long. The democrats began by voting the deposition of Treilhard, on the pretext of informal election, appointing in his stead Gohier, formerly Minister of Justice, a simple, honest, and mediocre Republican. When it came to the turn of Lareveillère and Merlin to have their acts scrutinised, they resisted, despite the threats of Siéyès and Barras. "We are but made the pretext; what you really want is the destruction of the Constitution and the delivery of France into the hands of the Bonaparte family," they said. They were nevertheless obliged to yield, the hostile feeling proving too strong for them. They were defeated with their own weapon; the Constitution, which they had already twice violated to upset the Councils, was now violated by the Councils to upset them (18th June, 30th Prairial).

This proceeding seemed to put an end to the Constitution of the year III.; at least every one

virtually ignored it; and all parties were eager to profit by its being ignored. The Royalists, emboldened by the successes of the Coalition, resumed their old tactics of instigating revolts in the south and west; the democrats, finding themselves in a majority in the Five Hundred, wanted to come back to a Constitution based on the principles of 1793; the Moderate party, predominating in the Ancients, desired the *régime* of 1791, without the royalty. As yet, though the Constitution was moribund, it was not dead, and according to its principles the Government could not be dismissed, hence the device was resorted to refurbish it. The Girondin Roger-Ducos, and the general Moulins, both hitherto unknown, were called to the Directory. The first attached himself to Siéyès, and united himself with the party, eager for a change of the Constitution; the second, a nonentity, a sincere and credulous patriot, had been nominated by the Jacobins, and united with them in an attempt to consolidate the Government. As for Barras, "this living emblem of the chaos of vices, passions, and conflicting interests represented by the dying Republic," had but one thought, to sell himself to the Bourbons, who had promised him a sum of twelve million francs for his co-operation in their re-establishment.[1] The ministry was changed, Robert Lindet assuming the direction of the finances, Fouché that of the police, Treilhard of foreign affairs, Cambacérès of justice,

[1] Epistolary documents exist in proof of this, treated by many historians as a mere assertion.

Bernadotte (born 1764) of war. The last displayed unusual vigour in his reorganisation of the army, in persecuting fraudulent contractors, and in endeavouring to revive the national enthusiasm. Ultra-Republican ideas sprang up again; among various measures was one threatening a renewal of the Reign of Terror. By it the Directory was granted the right to arrest, imprison, and even transport certain individuals formerly comprised in the category of suspected, at the slightest symptoms of disturbances in whatsoever locality.

Nevertheless, the dangers of France increased daily. Joubert had just been killed at Novi; the Russians had arrived in Switzerland; most of the events we have described were happening; the Vendée seemed disposed for another revolt; Nantes and several towns were attacked, and some successfully, by the Royalists. The patriots raised cries of alarm. A club in many respects similar to that of the Jacobins was established in the Riding-Hall, among whose members were Jourdan, Augereau, Bernadotte, with more than a hundred deputies of the Five Hundred; the measures of 1793 and the memory of Robespierre were specially subjects of praise; a wholesale levy and the disarming of the suspected were discussed.

The Moderates, interpreting all these signs as a possible renewal of the Reign of Terror, were full of apprehension, and spread the report that the Legislative body intended to form itself into a National Convention. Siéyès hated the Jacobins; he contemplated making a new and complicated Constitution, in which

he should play the part of constitutional monarch: and to see that Constitution established he would stop at nothing, not even at a Revolution. This, in fact, was the reason of his refusal to enter the Directory when the Constitution of the year III. was put into operation: and was the cause of his accepting office now, when this Constitution was becoming useless. In addition to the support of the Ancients he gained over Barras, which gave him a majority in the Directory; Fouché, Barras' parasite, and the accomplice of his malversations, was also becoming an instrument in Siéyès' hands. Thus, thinking himself strong enough, the latter openly declared war against the democrats by closing their clubs, by dismissing Bernadotte, and suspending eleven Republican journals. In their turn the patriots tried to revive the Revolutionary enthusiasm, but they had lost their ancient power and cunning, and their motion to declare the country in danger, though causing much agitation, was rejected.

In reality the country was in a much more critical situation than in 1792, when the nation, young in Republican ardour and self-devotion, was prepared to resist her enemies from without as well as from within; now, with a similar fate impending, she felt wearied, exhausted, and discouraged. Her sacrifices had resulted in nothing, for not only was the Republic, established at such a terrible cost, crumbling into pieces, society itself seemed destined to follow it. To the sanguinary and fanatic but serious and patriotic morals of 1793 had succeeded a reign of dissipation and frivolity; every

honest sentiment and belief were sneered at; dishonesty and profligacy reigned supreme. In vain the wisest of the nation asked for peace, order, and law; for actions instead of debates; one will instead of many; a government, personal or impersonal, instead of factions. "We have had enough of talking; what we want is a head and a sword," said Siéyès. The head was himself, the sword would have been Joubert, had he lived, or Moreau, if he had possessed sufficient firmness. Wanting those two he cast his eyes on Bonaparte, and every one followed and approved his glance. The misfortunes of the country were attributed to his absence, his victories were magnified; something idolatrous seemed to mix with the worship of an individual comparatively new to the nation, and whose character was guessed at rather than known.

Bonaparte had meanwhile, during the whole of the winter of 1798, consolidated his victories by fortifying his positions, encouraging scientific explorations, and recruiting his army from the remains of the French fleet, supplemented by natives. The Delta was completely subjugated; Desaix defeated Mourad several times, and entirely conquered Upper Egypt. The inhabitants looked with respect and admiration on the genius of Bonaparte, and the enlightened and just administration which he substituted for the former tyranny. There was but one obstacle to their sincere friendship—their religion. In Egypt, as elsewhere, infidelity had followed in the wake of the tricolour flag—an infidelity which roused the repugnance and

provoked the enmity of the vanquished. This slumbering feeling was fanned into flame by a proclamation of the Sultan, and a terrible insurrection broke out at Cairo, which was quenched only by torrents of blood.

Two Turkish armies were being raised to drive the French from Egypt—one at Rhodes, the other at Damascus. Bonaparte resolved to confront the latter before the former had time to land at Aboukir; he knew from modern and ancient examples how necessary the possession of Syria was to the preservation of Egypt, in addition to its being an ingress to the East, where he dreamt, perhaps, of forming a grand empire. He started with thirteen thousand men (10th February), made himself master of El-Arish, crossed the desert, entered Gazza, and arrived before Jaffa, the key of Syria, garrisoned by four thousand troops (13th March). The governor having murdered the bearer of a flag of truce, the town was carried by storm, and given over to pillage for thirty hours. All the prisoners, to the number of four thousand, who had surrendered upon a promise that their lives should be spared, were shot. From Jaffa the army was directed upon Acre, where Djezzar Pacha had shut himself up with six thousand troops, assisted by an English squadron, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, which provided them with ammunition and officers; and by two distinguished French engineers, the *émigrés* Philippeaux and Tromelin. Bonaparte, destitute of siege artillery, his own having been captured by the English on the way from Alexandria, tried twice in

vain to carry the town by storm. Meanwhile the army of Damascus was marching on to the Jordan. Kléber, having gone to meet it with two thousand troops, found himself surrounded near Mount Thabor by twelve thousand horsemen and as many infantry (16th April). Forming his valiant soldiers into two squares, he withstood the onslaught for six hours, when the timely arrival of Bonaparte, with three thousand men, scattered the Turkish cohorts, and routed them completely.

Bonaparte returned to Acre, of which the garrison had been increased during his absence to twenty thousand men. Undaunted, the French attempted a fresh assault, penetrating into the very streets of the town. The victory proved, however, useless. Nearly all the French officers were killed, the soldiers had caught the plague at Jaffa, and the army of Rhodes was expected to land at any moment. The only alternative left was to raise the siege, to remain satisfied with the destruction of Djezzar's army, and to return to the hopeless Egyptian regions. Bonaparte's profound regret was openly expressed, leaving little doubt as to his dreams of ambition. The army, despairing and decreased by several thousand men, returned to Cairo, devastating everything on its march, and resigning itself to perish far from its country (21st May). Meanwhile the Turkish army of Rhodes, numbering eighteen thousand men, landed under cover of the English fleet, at the peninsula of Aboukir, and there entrenched itself,

waiting until Mourad should have stirred up a part of Egypt in the French rear. Bonaparte started from Cairo with six thousand men, and by forced marches arrived in sight of the Turkish positions, stormed them, and drove the defenders into the sea. Twelve thousand Turks were drowned, three thousand died on the field, and a like number were taken prisoners, so that there was an end of the Turkish army. The possession of Egypt was thus once more assured to the French.

From the newspapers sent to him by the English admiral, Bonaparte learned the reverses which had befallen France, and the prevailing anarchy. His resolution was taken. He knew that his return to France was necessary at all risk, even at that of falling into the hands of the English. But he did not like to leave his soldiers openly, and, to avoid personal altercations, he had two frigates fitted out in secret at Alexandria, on which he embarked, accompanied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and some other friends (22nd August). A reconnoitring trip along the coast was made the pretext for his departure. Kléber was left in command of the army, with instructions to evacuate Egypt at the first opportunity. While Bonaparte was making this effort, the line of French operations, still extending from the Zuyder Zee to the Gulf of Genoa, had its centre threatened by the arrival of Korsakoff in Switzerland, its left by the landing of the Anglo-Russians in Holland, its right by the defeat at Novi. Wholesale disaster seemed to be impending; entire annihilation was expected at any moment.

Fortunately, discord had broken out between the Courts and the armies of Russia and Austria. The Russian emperor, Paul, who had joined the Coalition in order to restore the tottering thrones, was indignant at Austria's evident efforts to subjugate Italy on her own behalf; the Austrian generals, tired of the arrogance displayed by Suwarroff, declined to act with him. The plan of the campaign had to be modified; it was decided that Suwarroff with his Russians should abandon Italy, leaving the command of the Austrians to Melas, and join Korsakoff in Switzerland, which the Archduke Charles, with his thirty-six thousand troops, was to evacuate, while the divisions of Hotze and Jellachich should remain on the Linth to facilitate the junction of the two Russian generals, the Austrians occupying the lines of the Necker to repulse a French army which threatened Germany.

In order to effect a diversion in favour of Masséna, a body of twelve thousand men had crossed the Rhine at Mannheim, and was bombarding Philippsburg. At the approach of the Archduke it recrossed the river, took up a stationary position on the left bank, and compelled the Austrians to remain in front to watch it. During this time Suwarroff moved his army on Bellinzona to cross the St. Gothard, and debouch by Schweitz, behind the Linth, to take the French in the rear, while Hotze and Korsakoff should attack them in front. The combined forces of the Allies were seventy-five thousand soldiers, with whom they contemplated crushing Masséna, and effecting an entry into France by way of Bâle.

Masséna had sixty thousand troops; Lecourbe, with twelve thousand, guarded the St. Gothard, the river Reuss, and the Upper Linth; Soult, with fifteen thousand, was posted between the Wallenstätter See and Zurich; whilst Masséna himself, with thirty thousand, was between Zurich and Bruick. All looks were fixed on this army, on which depended the salvation of the country; one battle lost might bring the northern soldiers into Burgundy—nay, to the very gates of Paris.

Korsakoff having decided upon a general attack on the Linth-Limmat, to facilitate the operations of Suwarroff against the St. Gothard, carried the main body of his forces into Zurich, to debouch from there on Mount Albis, while Hotze was to cross the Linth, and Jellachich arrive in Schweitz. Masséna forestalled him; after having ordered Soult to take the offensive on the Linth, and the left wing of Lecourbe to make for Glarus, he left General Mortier with ten thousand men on the left bank before Zurich, crossed with twenty thousand the passage of the Limmat at Dietikon, and made for Zurich by the right bank, barring the road to Winterthur. The Russians, surprised on both banks, defeated, driven back into the town, and surrounded on all sides, had no alternative but to break the enemy's line, or to lay down their arms. The following morning the Frenchmen renewed the attack, and Zurich was about to be carried by storm, when Korsakoff, having rallied all his troops into one column on the right bank, with the intention of forcing a

passage towards the Rhine, charged Masséna. The Russian infantry broke through, but the cavalry and artillery were thrown back into the town at the moment when Mortier entered it from the other side. Everything was taken from the Russians, Korsakoff with difficulty escaping to the Rhine, with fourteen thousand men.

Meanwhile Soult crossed the Linth by main force, defeated Hötze, who was killed, took three thousand prisoners and thirty cannon, and drove the rest of the Austrians behind the Rhine. Jellachich was also defeated, and compelled to abandon his position, so that when Suwarroff arrived, he found himself isolated in the midst of a victorious enemy, instead of that enemy, as he expected, being driven towards destruction.

The struggle with Lecourbe for every step of the St. Gothard had been such, that when Suwarroff arrived at Altdorf, a third of his army was gone, while the remainder was destitute of everything, without ammunition, without horses. The Austrian flotilla, which should have been ready on the lake of Lucerne, not being there, the harassed troops were compelled to march through the defile of the Schächenthal, in order to gain the canton of Glarus, but they found Schweitz occupied by Masséna, Lecourbe's left wing, under Molitor, posted on Mont Bragel, and Lecourbe himself behind them. Suwarroff hurled himself against Molitor, effecting a passage by leaving behind guns, baggage, and sixteen hundred prisoners, but he found the road to Glarus blocked; upon which he threw himself into the horrible

valley of Engi, crossed the almost perpendicular Crispalt, and succeeded in reaching Coire (6th October), whence he retired into Bavaria, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Archduke and the Austrian court, which he accused of his defeat, having left twelve thousand men in this march of thirty leagues across the highest glaciers of Europe.

Thus, thanks to Masséna, France was once more secure on that side, and the Emperor of Russia abandoned the coalition.

Though less dazzling, the successes in the north were no less signal and complete. The Duke of York, depending upon the support of the insurrectionary party in Holland, had lost much valuable time in strengthening his positions. That country had shown the greatest hostility to the invaders. Brune collected 25,000 troops, and after several undecided battles, which had the effect of inuring the soldiers, he defeated the Anglo-Russians at Bergen and Kastricum, forcing them back to the entrenchments at Zype (19th September —6th October), and harassing them in every way, so that the Duke of York, finding his army reduced to 20,000 men, who were threatened with starvation, signed a humiliating capitulation, and embarked for England with all his troops (18th October). England gave up to France 8,000 prisoners without exchange, but she kept the ships taken from the Dutch.

In the south France was not successful. Championnet had succeeded Joubert, and endeavoured to unite near Coni the troops scattered through Savoy to

the remains of the army of Italy. After many fruitless battles, he was on the point of effecting the wished-for junction, when the Austrian general Melas, who had collected 50,000 men, attacked and defeated him at Genola, between Savigliano and Fossano, inflicting a loss of 7,000 (4th November). This completed, as it were, the disaster of Novi, for the Austrians, secure of Piedmont, marched upon Coni, which they invested and carried, compelling the French to retreat into the Maritime Alps, where they lay inactive, destitute of everything, and decimated by disease and desertion.

Save for this, France was free from exterior troubles, but in the interior discord and dissension paralysed her strength and resources. An agitation, destitute of the passions that might have invested it with a fictitious halo; a state of lukewarm revolution; factions not strong enough to assume power; all this seemed to denote an approaching social dissolution. The Republic wishing to enter on the old paths of legal and constitutional principles, was compelled to admit that it could only do so at the sacrifice of its very existence. The sneers with which it was already continually assailed, the open contempt expressed for those who had acted most disinterestedly in its behalf, all tended to show that the thirst for liberty, the faith in national representation, for which it had struggled for the last ten years, were things of the past; order was the only thing wanted, no matter under what form of government. The restoration of society was deemed impossible except at the hands of arbitrary

power; the foe, combated and attacked since 1789, was now thought the one capable of effecting this restoration; and France was rushing blindly into the arms of military dictatorship, the only thing not exhausted as yet.

Meanwhile the man on whom the country had built her last hopes was making his way back, carefully avoiding the English cruisers, and traversing a sea agitated by contrary winds and storms. At last he landed at Fréjus (9th October), and simultaneously arrived the tidings of his victory at Aboukir, which aroused the greatest joy, even the Directory sharing the universal feeling. His road to Paris was an unbroken triumphal march. No one hinted or reproached him with having deserted his soldiers. The disgust with everything, the despairing apathy, the universal incredulity which had festered into the very heart of the land since Thermidor, disappeared as if by magic; a man was put in the place of the fatherland, of liberty, of religion. It has been wrongly said that Bonaparte took France; it was France who gave herself to him, or rather took him. It is a question whether Bonaparte, previous to his starting for Egypt, had ever contemplated seriously to become a King; but it is also undoubted that the design to play that part took possession of him, if not in France, at least elsewhere. His words after the battle of Acre would go far to prove it. "I have missed my fortune; but for Djezzar Pacha I might, perhaps, have been Emperor of the East," he said.

Be this as it may, his ambitious design was awakened and stirred up anew by the enthusiasm of which he found himself the object, and confirmed by the contempt in which he saw the Government had fallen. Nor had he forgotten, during his apprenticeship as a ruler in Egypt, to conciliate in advance the religious feelings of some of the parties in France. It was rumoured that he had been on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Nazareth. His wife had not failed to magnify this supposed act of piety, as well as to exaggerate the comparatively unimportant victory of Aboukir. Bonaparte was cold but courteous with those politicians who presented themselves to him; he offended no one, but did not divulge his plans to any person. The military men pressed him to make an end of the lawyers and army-contractors; the directors—though two, Siéyès and Barras, mistrusted him—consulted and flattered him, but he refused to take a part in public affairs, and lived quietly in his house in the Rue Chantereine. It was thought that he would attempt something, and he neither contradicted nor affirmed the assertion. The generals, jealous of the successes of Masséna, were somewhat afraid of Bonaparte. Jourdan was ill or recovering; Bernadotte, though related to Bonaparte, preferred to remain neutral; Augereau advised delay, to which Bonaparte answered, "The wine is drawn, we must drink it;" Moreau, vacillating as always, allowed himself to become his tool.

Of the two parties eager to avail themselves of his aid, Bonaparte preferred the Moderates, because they

represented the opinion of the masses. He instinctively detested anarchy and discord, weakness and corruption. He had sided with the Committee of Public Salvation on account of its unity, straightforwardness, and strength; he hated the Girondins, Thermidorians, and Directory for their lack of these qualities. He had withdrawn from the Jacobins because they wanted to perpetuate what could at best be but temporary, the exceptional government of 1793. Royalism and the fear of the foreigner had ceased, internal disturbances should cease also. This could only be effected by a dictatorship, and a lasting dictatorship was possible only with the Moderates. The man of the 13th Vendémiaire was not the representative of liberty, but of the Revolution.

As has been said, Siéyès mistrusted Bonaparte, and Bonaparte mistrusted Siéyès for mistrusting him. Both were, however, necessary to each other, and an understanding between them was come to through the mediation of Talleyrand and Roederer. Both endeavoured to gain partisans, not avowing their real plan, but pretending that a change of government was necessary. As for Barras, he had offered himself and had been declined. It was resolved that the Legislative body should be removed outside Paris, under the pretext of a conspiracy of the Jacobins. This would in some measure frighten the people, and Bonaparte, invested with the command of the troops, would propose to the terror-stricken Five Hundred to suspend its sittings, to abolish the Directory, and to confide the provisional government to a committee of three Consuls,

and the Legislative to two Commissions of twenty-five members, who should frame a new Constitution. In this way the Revolution should be accomplished by surprise, and in an apparently legal way instead of by violence.

On the 18th of Brumaire (9th November), at seven in the morning, the Committee of Inspectors of the Ancients convoked this Council, taking care to exclude the patriot deputies and to leave the Five Hundred in ignorance. When a hundred and fifty members had been collected, the president of the Committee mounted the tribune to divulge a supposed plot of the Jacobins to murder the Legislative, and to re-establish a Revolutionary government. As a part of the same project a second speaker took his place and proposed the removal of the Legislative to Saint Cloud, charging General Bonaparte with the execution of the decree, as well as with the command of the troops. The motion was carried immediately, without the knowledge of the Parisians; the capital was virtually handed over to the military; and the executive annulled and changed into a dictatorship, illegally conferred on a stranger to the Government.

Bonaparte, surrounded by his generals and partisans, received the report at eight o'clock in his own house, while the neighbouring street was occupied by a regiment of dragoons under Sebastiani, a Corsican. The decree of the Ancients was read aloud, the generals were asked for their support, which they gave, with the exception of Bernadotte, who simply consented to remain neutral. Escorted by his staff, Bonaparte

repaired to the Council of Ancients to take the oath, then to the Committee of Inspectors, sitting at the Tuileries, where the ministers attended upon him, and where he gave the orders for the execution of the decree. After which he distributed the commands among his generals, made a speech to the National Guard, and reviewed the Paris garrison, addressing to it a proclamation, "in which for the first time during the last ten years a man asked an account of the Republic, as if it were his own property. One is sadly surprised to see a new-comer to the Revolution introduce himself into an inheritance so laboriously acquired by a whole nation." [1]

Towards eleven o'clock in the morning the Five Hundred assembled in their hall, when Lucien Bonaparte, the president, read the decree of their removal, at which every one stood aghast. However, amidst universal terror, the departure to Saint Cloud was resolved upon.

There the last act was played on the following morning. Paris, though surprised, had remained profoundly calm, the populace and citizens contenting themselves to be passive spectators of these political events. The time for their interference was gone by, and they seemed to have been aware of the fact. It should also be said that the name of Bonaparte had inspired them with a certain trust in the impending revolution. The Council of Five Hundred, convinced that it had nothing to hope from exterior aid, though still believing in the

[1] Mignet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, chap. xiii.

democratic spirit of the soldiers and the moral authority of the national representatives, had refused to take any aggressive measures against the conspirators. Its members had simply resolved to resist and die.

On the 10th of November, Saint-Cloud was filled with troops, and crowded with a curious but almost indifferent mob. Bonaparte himself, anxious, but nevertheless concealing his anxiety, went first to the Ancients, where several hours had been wasted by his fellow-conspirators in vain discussions. A letter had just been read from the secretary to the Directory, announcing that there was no longer a Directory, four out of the five members having tendered their resignation. The document was a fabrication, but Bonaparte did not scruple to confirm the falsehood, supporting it by unnecessary and perfectly ridiculous threats, adding that if he were accused, he would appeal to his valiant comrades, to whose bayonets he pointed from where he stood, he having left his grenadiers outside. "Remember," he said, "that I march accompanied by the god of fortune and the god of war."

This outburst of bathos was quite wasted on the Ancients, whom he left in the greatest uncertainty and confusion. The real battle was to be fought with the Five Hundred, to whose apartment he now repaired. Its members were decidedly hostile, and had been engaged all the morning in deliberations, concluding their discussions with the resolve of adhering to the Constitution, to which every individual deputy now took the

oath. Their opposition was a revelation to Bonaparte. Things had been represented to him as entirely different; he imagined that the deputies would give way at the mere sight of his troops. He presented himself to them, followed by his grenadiers, marching three abreast. But the cold weather had already set in, and the stoves had been lighted in the large bare hall of the Orangerie, a tapestried curtain was hung before the door to exclude the draughts, and to serve at the same time as a vestibule. The spectators drew aside to let Bonaparte pass, but his soldiers were obliged to remain behind, only two or three entering with him. When he saw himself isolated, he retreated a step or so, and wanted to withdraw. The entrance of the few grenadiers was the signal for a tumult. "Down with the bayonets," was the general cry. Bonaparte wanted to speak, but, hooted and mobbed, was obliged to withdraw. The confusion increased. "Let the tyrant be outlawed," exclaimed the deputies, leaving their seats, with threatening gestures. Of this Lucien, president of the Five Hundred, and the brother of Bonaparte, took advantage by abandoning his chair, doffing his official garb, and leaving the hall. Outside he at once addressed the grenadiers, who were still waiting. "Would you believe it," he said, "they want me to kill my brother, to pass a decree of outlawry against him?" This appeared monstrous to these simple-minded men, who, scarcely prepared to obey their general at first, now experienced a kind of revulsion of feeling in his favour.

At that moment the comedy was on the point of changing either into a farce or a sanguinary tragedy, but for the timely intervention of Siéyès, whom Bonaparte, already on horseback, pale, brow-beaten, and discouraged, espied sitting in his carriage outside the gates of the Orangerie. When Bonaparte told him what had happened, Siéyès exclaimed, "They have outlawed you; very well, put them out of the room."[1]

No sooner said than done. Lucien mounted his horse, and harangued the soldiers in the style of stilted eloquence which his brother had already so successfully employed in his bulletins. The troops caught the enthusiasm; General Leclerc, at the head of a battalion of grenadiers, entered into the apartment where the Council was sitting. At their entrance the whole of the assembly started up with indignation. But notwithstanding their remonstrances, they were driven from their seats, and had to seek egress by the doors leading into the gardens. At five o'clock the hall was empty, and the representatives were fleeing towards the capital.

A semblance of legality had still to be observed, and this was, as represented in the epilogue, enacted a few hours later. The details are by an eye-witness, the only one who has given a succinct and graphic account.

"It was sufficiently difficult to reconstruct another Assembly. About eighty deputies from both Councils were all that could be collected. He (Bonaparte)

[1] The words used by Siéyès were: "*Ils vous ont mis hors la loi; mettez-les hors la salle.*"

wanted the sitting to be opened at ten o'clock (at night). I was present, and well I remember the nocturnal gathering in the very hall which had just been polluted . . . . As long as I live I shall not forget the aspect of the Orangerie during this mournful scene. How silent was it! how sad and melancholy were those who came to take part in it! Imagine a long, wide shed encumbered by overthrown benches, in the middle a raised seat, placed against the bare wall. Below, and a little in front, a table and two chairs. On the table two candles, as many close to the seat. No candelabras, no lamps, no other light illumining the darkness of this long enclosure. Behold in this seat the pale figure of Lucien, reading the new Constitution, and at the table two deputies discussing. Facing them, in a narrow space, reclined a group of representatives, profoundly indifferent to what was read to them; most of them stretched on three benches, one serving as a seat, the other as a support for their feet, the third as a pillow. Among them, mingling pell-mell, some private citizens in a similar attitude. Not far in their rear, you might perceive some lacqueys, who had come to seek a shelter from the cold outside, and who had fallen asleep, while waiting for their masters. Such was the strange areopagus that gave France a new government."[1]

Thus was the Directory suppressed (10th November, 1799); the legislative prorogued till the 28th February, 1800; and the executive confided to three provisional

[1] For this passage and many other particulars relating to the 18th and 19th of Brumaire I am indebted to M. Michelet's *Histoire du XIX. Siècle*, vol. ii., bk. 5, ch. 8.

Consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos. It was under the pretext of sharing his power that Bonaparte had dragged the two latter into the conspiracy. The conspirators came to take the oath, and the Councils separated.

Book IV.

THE CONSULATE.

CHAPTER I.

§ I.—A MILITARY DICTATOR.

(From the 10th November, 1799, to the 2nd March, 1802.)

WHETHER it was really believed that, according to the promise given by Lucien Bonaparte, in the evening of the 19th Brumaire (10th November), the Government should be provisional, and would in three months give an account to the nation, or whether by dint of proclamations and decrees the conspirators succeeded in so defacing the aspect of events, that even the fable of the attempted assassination of Bonaparte was credited, certain is it that the high-handed proceedings already recorded met with no determined opposition. On the contrary, Paris seemed overjoyed, and the members of the Council of Five Hundred, who could have unmasked the plot, became the object of universal execration, and were obliged to remain silent and in hiding. For the last ten years *coups-d'état*, either from the people, or from the authorities, had so much grown to be the order of the day, that this fresh one on the part of the army was looked upon as a welcome change. It was the only body which, amidst the wholesale apathy and corruption, had

preserved its enthusiasm and devotion to the Revolution. People were tired of the National Assemblies, which had caused—so it was now said—all the misfortunes of the country; finally, the name of Bonaparte seemed to legalise this usurpation by the military powers.

Nor, the ice once broken, was Bonaparte the man to compromise the situation which he understood so well, for want of specious promises and high-sounding argument. He wished the 18th of Brumaire to be looked upon as a millennium, not only preventing all future, but repairing all past evils; and set to work to accomplish these things with an energy that dazed and disarmed public opinion. Nearly all prohibitive laws were annulled, without reference to parties. Continual surprises were in store for the people, for Bonaparte knew that a government owing its existence to surprise could only be kept going by surprises. And when the nation saw a government whose rapid, assured, and firm march announced a change of system, and an irrevocably fixed plan; a government which called around it enlightened, experienced, meritorious, and honest minds, which neither adopted nor persecuted any party, which professed respect for liberal institutions, and wanted to place a limit to revolutionary measures, the general opinion openly declared itself for the new order of things.[1]

[1] Thibaudeau, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, vol. i., p. 79, as quoted by Lavallée. It should, however, be said that M. Thibaudeau has shared the erroneous opinion of many historians with regard to the men Bonaparte called around him. With few exceptions they were all of very mediocre caste.

Meanwhile the Utopian Constitution of Siéyès was being discussed by the Legislative commissioners and Consuls, during which process Bonaparte took care to eliminate the few feeble guarantees of liberty it contained, confiscating them to the advantage of the power of which he was the administrator. According to this Constitution, the Government was confided to three Consuls, elected for ten years, possessing unequal powers. The First Consul promulgated the laws, appointed the ministers, the ambassadors, the judges, and the different functionaries; the other two Consuls had but a consultative vote. The laws were prepared by a Council of state, appointed by the First Consul, and presented to a Tribunate composed of a hundred members. The Tribunate, after having discussed these laws, sent three of its orators, and three Councillors of state named by the Government, to argue their adoption or rejection with the Legislative. The Legislative was composed of three hundred members, who could sanction the laws by secret ballot, but were not allowed to discuss them. Finally, above the Tribunate and the Legislative was a Senate, composed of eighty members, elected for life, and not removable, who were charged with annulling or maintaining the measures referred to them by the Tribunate or the Government. This supreme body elected the Consuls, the Tribunes, the legislators, from a national list, containing five thousand names, elected by the votes of fifty thousand individuals, themselves chosen by five hundred thousand others, which latter were elected by universal

suffrage. The senators themselves were elected by the Senate itself, from a list of three candidates, presented to them by the Tribunate, the Legislative, and the First Consul.

The authors of the 18th Brumaire appropriated to themselves the functions of the State as the spoil of their victory. An article of the Constitution appointed Bonaparte first, Cambacérès second, and Lebrun third Consuls. Both the latter, though able men, were swayed by no political principles, and would have served equally well any power that employed them. Siéyès and Roger-Ducos were relegated to the Senate, with the mission to elect the first thirty members, who again should elect another thirty, the last twenty to be chosen in the ordinary constitutional manner above described. As these senators would be practically powerless, it was thought as well to make a show of goodly names, and the choice fell upon the greatest celebrities in politics, war, sciences, and arts.

That all this was but the mere pretence of constitutional government, that the Republic had virtually ceased to exist, need scarcely be said. National representation there was none, the sovereignty of the people was concentrated in one man, Bonaparte.

The First Consul selected his ministry, of which his brother Lucien, as well as Talleyrand and Fouché, two apostate priests, were members. The last a Terrorist, the other a former *grand seigneur*, were the only politicians of the Cabinet, save perhaps Maret, who filled the office of private secretary to Bonaparte.

A complete reform of everything was the task the Consular Government imposed upon itself. High-handed measures were necessary, and centralisation became indispensable, the former administrative anarchy having been caused by the want of influence of the Government on the secondary authorities. This was to be changed by the new laws, "which started from the idea that the commune, the arrondissement, the department, were incapable to rule, not only in affairs of state, but in their own concerns, hence the best thing was to hold them in a kind of tutelage, under a superior wisdom. And this wisdom should reside nowhere else but at the very centre of the Government. No more local autonomy. People had to wait for and to submit to the unique impulse from on high, transmitted by dependent functionaries removable at will. All this presupposed that at the centre there throned a spirit of enlightenment and action, which, unaided, should act and think for a great people, which could indeed respond to the thought expressed by Siéyès, somewhat ironically, perhaps, on the morrow of the 18th Brumaire—'Let us not deceive ourselves, gentlemen, we have a master who knows how to do all things, who can do all things, and who wants to do all things.[1]'"

To erect this vast system of centralisation, destroying what the Constituent Assembly had wrought, and paving the way for despotism, Bonaparte indiscriminately employed all parties, from Royalists down to

[1] Michelet, *Hist. du XIX. Siècle*, vol. iii., bk. 1, ch. 1.

Jacobins. The latter, united for their own purpose till the 18th of Brumaire, were now again divided. The partisans of the old Committees found in Bonaparte the force and unity which they admired; they saw in him the man of the Revolution, "a Robespierre on horseback," as Madame de Staël expressed it. Many among them accepted préfectures, others entered the Council of State; Barrère himself was secretly employed. Besides these Revolutionists, who represented the opinion of the people, there were the obscure remains of the Hébertists and other extreme factions, working without a plan, unguided and unsupported, obscure, and reduced to plot murders. Some of the Royalists, finding the restoration of their own idol impossible, had accepted the monarchy without a Bourbon, and had already induced Bonaparte to pass measures of reparation; the doings of the *émigrés* were watched less stringently, the refractory priests were simply required to subscribe an oath of fidelity to the Constitution. This slackening of the curb satisfied the quasi-Royalists; but it was considered in its true light by the zealots of the party, namely, as a sop to Cerberus. As Bonaparte had left them in their error, they had imagined that the 18th Brumaire, which would scarcely have been possible without their passive co-operation in withholding documents which might have frustrated the attempt, would reinstate the Bourbons, that Bonaparte would become a second Monk, that the Consulate was but a transition to facilitate the return of the King. Even the English Cabinet and

the Pretender, hoodwinked by Bonaparte, believed that the young general would be but too glad to vacate his place in favour of Louis XVIII.[1]

When the Royalists discovered how they had been duped, their fury knew no bounds. The insurrection of the west, just repressed by General Hédouville, was rekindled by means of English vessels landing arms on the coasts. A wholesale rising was prepared in Poitou, Anjou, Brittany, and Normandy, which was, however, soon quelled by the energetic measures of Bonaparte, only one of its leaders, Frotté, being shot, the rest either taking refuge in England or entering the Consular army. Thanks to a severe police and a just administration, the whole of these provinces became peaceful in a short time; their repose was only now and then disturbed by isolated groups of brigands, against whom the First Consul acted by instituting extraordinary tribunals.

Bonaparte's first promise to the nation on entering upon his new dignity was that he should give it peace. The first day of his official installation (December 28th,

[1] That Bonaparte during the first three or four months after his *coup-d'état* did not care to dispel this error there is little doubt. It would appear even that he had offered his services to Louis before the 18th Brumaire. When, however, he found his power sufficiently consolidated, he adopted another line of conduct, as may be seen from the following extracts. Louis XVIII. wrote twice to Bonaparte. In one of his letters he said, "We can ensure the happiness of France. I say 'we' because I have need of Bonaparte for this, and because he could not do it without me." To which the First Consul laconically replied, "You should not wish to return to France. It can only be accomplished by marching over a hundred thousand bodies. Sacrifice your interest to the peace and happiness of France. History will thank you."

1799), he wrote personally to the English King, inviting him to a cessation of hostilities, though knowing sufficiently well that the British Constitution forbade the monarch to answer this letter. But he wished to impress Europe by a signal example of his pacific intentions. The British Cabinet fell into the trap so cunningly prepared. It not only refused that peace, which France, harassed by ten years' strife, would have gladly hailed, even under disadvantageous conditions, but it gave Bonaparte a handle to his subsequent military ambition, by its declaration "that the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and consideration and respect abroad . . . would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace." England thought France more exhausted than she really was, the late naval successes and those of the Austrian army made her underrate the strength of her enemy. It was true Egypt and Malta were blockaded, Italy reconquered, but it was also true that Austria was the sole great Power remaining faithful to the Coalition, Russia having retired, Prussia preserving a strict neutrality, whilst the princes of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Mayence were only enabled to raise eighty thousand troops, who had to be paid for with English gold.

Bonaparte, quick to seize the gauntlet thrown down by England, published the results of his attempted negotiations, and by these means converted the war into a national one. The whole of France rose at this

unwarrantable interference of England in her internal affairs, and in four weeks an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men was equipped and ready for the field, while a hundred thousand conscripts were drilling in the interior.

Hostilities, which had ceased in December, did not recommence till the spring. Austria had two great armies of a hundred and twenty thousand men each. The first, in Italy, was ordered to take the offensive, and Melas, who commanded it, was instructed to leave forty thousand troops, under Haddick and Wukassowich, to guard Lombardy and Piedmont; and then make himself master of Genoa, cross the Var, and penetrate into Provence, where twenty thousand English, collected at Minorca, should join him. The centre of the second Austrian army, which was on the Rhine, commanded by Kray in person, was charged to guard and cover that river, from Mayence to its sources, whilst thirty thousand troops, under the Prince of Reuss, were to watch the Voralberg and the Grisons, and to effect a communication with the army of Italy. Bonaparte's plan was entirely different. He left the French army of Italy, reduced to thirty thousand, and occupying the Apennines, to defend the Genoa river and to attract Melas in pursuit of it; he increased the army of the Rhine to a hundred thousand men, commanded it to cross that stream, to attack the enemy's left flank, by passing through the defiles of the Black Forest, and to drive it into Bavaria, by cutting off its communications with Italy. In this way the Alps between the Danube and the Po would

be isolated and without defence, and Bonaparte, taking advantage of this, would then cross them with an army which was secretly organised, and swoop down suddenly into the heart of Italy.

Championnet (born 1762) had died of the epidemic that was decimating his soldiers in Italy. Masséna succeeded him, and by the force of his energy restored discipline in this army, destitute of everything and dying of hunger. Dividing it into two, he left the right wing, of eighteen thousand men, under Soult, to guard Cadebone, the Bochetta, and Genoa; the left, of twelve thousand, under Suchet, to do the same in the littoral and the defiles from Final to Tende. From the latter place to Genoa six thousand men were scattered about. While these thirty-six thousand troops were engaged in guarding fifty leagues of mountains and hilly districts, the Austrians took the offensive; thirty-five thousand troops, under Ott, marched by the littoral of Rapallo, to the banks of the Bisagno, and attacked the approaches to Genoa. Masséna repulsed this attack, but, meanwhile, Melas, with forty-five thousand men, broke through the Apennines by way of Montenotte and Cadebone, carried Savona, and cut, as it were, the French army in halves. He forced Soult to throw himself into Genoa with Masséna, and made Suchet fall back upon Borghetto (6th April, 1800). Masséna and Suchet made heroic efforts to regain their communications, but the valour of their [illegible]diers had to give way to the superior position and [illegible]bers of the Austrians, and the French were obliged [illegible]-enter Genoa after ten days' fighting. Suchet still

contested the Taggia, but he had been out-manœuvred on the Col de Tende; he hurried for shelter behind the Var, where he received a reinforcement of eight thousand National Guards from Provence (6th May). Melas left Ott before Genoa, blockaded at the same time by the English fleet, and started for the Var, eager to find himself on the soil of the Republic.

Bonaparte, knowing Masséna, and the temper of the troops from Provence, was said not to be greatly disturbed by these reverses. He knew that this general would hold out to the last, and that invasions of Provence had never succeeded. He continued collecting his army, and with such secrecy, that its destination was totally ignored, and its existence treated as a myth by many.

Two victories gained by Moreau, with his army of the Rhine, over Kray, permitted the French to occupy in force the regions situated between the sources of the Danube and the forest-towns. Kray, wanting to recover his positions, was beaten again (10th May), and definitively cut off from his communications with the Prince of Reuss—who took refuge on the lines of the upper Inn, and abandoned the Voralberg and the Grisons—whilst he had to retreat upon the entrenched camp of Ulm. The Alps were free, and Bonaparte could execute his grand combination. By his order eighteen thousand men, under Moncey, were detached from the army of the Rhine to form the left wing of the army of reserve, and to descend with it into Italy.

Bonaparte arrived on the 10th May at Geneva,

where thirty-five thousand troops, starting from different points, had assembled. The moment he was certain that Moncey had started, he directed these troops to cross the Great St. Bernard. He wanted to descend into Italy, and fall like lightning amidst the Austrians, scattered from Nice to Mantua. The feat of crossing ten leagues of glaciers had never been attempted by a modern army; his troops, young, ardent, and full of confidence in the genius of their general, accomplished it. In four days thirty-five thousand men, with their artillery and baggage, passed and arrived at Aosta (16th—20th May), while the left wing, commanded by Moncey, vanquishing similar difficulties, passed the St. Gothard and debouched on Bellinzona; his right, six thousand strong, under Thureau, crossed Mont Cénis and debouched on Suza; finally, two small corps of between three and four thousand crossed to the right and left by the Simplon and the Little St. Bernard. In this way, from the St. Gothard to Mont Cénis, sixty thousand troops were swooping down upon Italy between Milan and Turin.

The vanguard, of eight thousand picked men under Lannes, having entered Aosta, and beaten an Austrian detachment, found itself suddenly stopped at Bard by a fort on an impregnable rock, entirely barring the road and the valley of the Dora, at that point only about fifty yards wide. In vain the whole army hurled itself against this unexpected obstacle; in vain was the village carried and an assault attempted; the cannon of the fort swept point-blank every inch of the road.

Not to be outdone, the French infantry and cavalry clambered the Monte Albaredo to their right, by paths cut into the rock, while the artillery covered the road with dung, wrapped the wheels of the gun-carriages with straw, and under cover of the night passed under the fire of the fort. Lannes arrived at Ivrea, which he carried by storm, defeated ten thousand Austrians, who, under Haddick, were stationed behind the Chinsella, threw them into Turin, to the assistance of which town they hastened, and marched to Chivasso, where he threatened to cross the Po (26th May). Bonaparte had arrived at Ivrea, Thureau at Suza, Moncey at Bellinzona.

Melas had for ten days fruitlessly endeavoured to cross the Var, and had not troubled himself about the assembling of French troops at Geneva, thinking it a feint to relieve Suchet; but at the news of Haddick's defeat, he left General Elsnitz with eighteen thousand troops behind, and hastened by the Col de Tende, towards Turin, which town was threatened by Lannes and Thureau. Melas believed that the principal troops came from Mont Cénis. But the attacks of Lannes and Thureau were feints, the first on Chivasso masking the march of the whole army from Ivrea to Vercelli. When the entire army had crossed the Sesia and taken Novara, driving before it the scattered troops of Wukassowich, Lannes evacuated Chivasso, and marched by way of Trino and Crescentino on Pavia, which he took. Melas was about to pursue him when he received tidings of the reverses of the army of the

Danube, the passage of the St. Gothard by Moncey, and the arrival of the French on the Tessino. He halted irresolute and terror-stricken; meanwhile the French army of reserve crossed the Tessino at Turbigo and Buffarola, and Bonaparte entered Milan (2nd June). The world looked on aghast, the sudden apparition of the Republican hero was celebrated by the Italian patriots with transports of joy. A junction was effected with Moncey, Wukassowich was compelled to retreat upon the Mincio, Cremona and Lodi were taken, and preparations made to close the only issue left to Melas—by the right bank of the Po.

The Austrian general, seeing Bonaparte at Milan, was seized with stupor; he ordered Ott and Elsnitz to abandon everything, and to join him at Alessandria, thereby increasing his army by forty-five thousand men, with whom, joined to his own twenty thousand, he might attempt to restore communications with Mantua and the remains of Wukassowich's troops. Elsnitz was pursued by Suchet, who outflanked him at the Col de Tende, broke his centre, and routed him completely. The Austrians lost ten thousand men, and reached Alessandria in a state of utter disorganisation. Suchet doubled back upon Savona to relieve Genoa, but on his way he already met with the French troops who had just evacuated the town.

The siege sustained by Masséna at Genoa was, in its way, another victory; for no more brilliant feat exists in the annals of modern war. It saved France from

an invasion. "The situation of the besieged was horrible. Everything edible had been devoured—horses, cats, dogs, and rats. The soldiers, thinking themselves abandoned by France, had given up all hope, and unable to keep themselves standing, had asked to be allowed to sit on the ground while mounting guard. They were dying without a murmur.

"Not so the Genoese . . . They died noisy and despairing. It wanted a man of the country, a man of granite, like Masséna, to resist them . . . They arrived in processions of thousands, imploring him to surrender." He knew that it would come to that at last, but faithful to the trust reposed in him by Bonaparte, he endeavoured to keep the besiegers as long as possible. "One day such a procession was headed by a jabbering, fat Capuchin friar, crying, 'My lord general, have pity on the *povera gente*.'"

Masséna immediately perceived that the reverend Father was an Austrian. First he scanned him with a look resembling that of the very torrents of Genoa, dull, gloomy, pitiless.

Then scrutinising him more closely, he said to him in a cavernous tone, from the depths of a profoundly empty stomach—

"Reverend Father, you are fat!"

The Capuchin shuddered, and grew confused.

Increasing the savage air, rendered more expressive still by his wolfish profile and white teeth, he repeated, "Reverend Father, you are fat, very fat!"

The Capuchin, trembling, retreated a few steps,

grew pale, and took to his heels, followed by the mob.[1]

After sixty days of suffering, holding out ten days more than he had promised, Masséna surrendered the town, on condition of marching out with flying colours, cannons, and baggage (5th June). Ott, instructed by Melas, hastened to comply with these stipulations, and leaving ten thousand men in Genoa, directed his troops, by way of the Bochetta, on Tortona and the road to Placentia, to prevent the French from crossing the Po. But Lannes had forestalled him, and already occupied a position at Stradella, cutting the communication with Mantua. Ott attempted to restore that communication, but he was attacked and defeated by Lannes and Victor, between Casteggio and Montebello, and thrown back on the Bormida with the loss of seven thousand men (10th June). Through this, Melas' position became most critical; instead of the anticipated sixty-five thousand troops, he had in all only thirty-two thousand men; his communications with the Mincio were completely closed; he was driven towards France, with his back to the Alps. Wherever he turned he was sure to encounter one of the French divisions; he resolved to give battle where he was, near Alessandria, on the great plain of Marengo, watered by the Bormida.

Bonaparte having restored the Cisalpine Republic, left Moncey to guard the Po, Milan, and the roads to Switzerland, while he himself joined Lannes on the field of Montebello. From there, having heard the news of

[1] Michelet, *Histoire du XIX. Siècle*, vol. iii., bk. 1, ch. 3.

the surrender of Genoa, he sent instructions to Suchet to fall upon Melas' flank, by debouching through the Col of Cadebone; after which he himself pushed for the Scrivia; and, unable to divine the plans of the Austrians, he directed Desaix, who had just returned from Egypt, on Novi, to cut off their retreat to Genoa, and Victor on Alessandria, to prevent their crossing the Po. Lannes remained in Victor's rear, and the reserve on the Scrivia. No battle was expected.

The day previous the Austrians had been driven from the plain of Marengo by Victor, on his way to Alessandria. The next morning (14th June) they again crossed the Bormida, and spread out in line on the plain, or rather basin, with the intention of opening the road to Tortona by pouncing upon the French right wing. Bonaparte, taken unawares, disposing of eighteen thousand men only, hurried on his reserves, recalled Desaix, who was already at Rivalta, and pushed his right wing forward, in order to give the latter general time to come up. Victor's division, heading the right wing, bore the brunt of the enemy's onslaught for four hours, at the end of which it was almost cut to pieces, and compelled to commence a retrograde movement for more than two leagues. Lannes, to support Victor, engaged with his troops the imperial centre, and occupied three hours in retreating one league. Bonaparte himself covered the latter's retreat, and posted the consular battalion in the centre of the plain, where, like a solid mass of granite, it stood impregnable. Seeing Victor cut up, Lannes retreating, the road to

Tortona almost open, Melas, who had been in the saddle for more than sixteen hours, retired into Alessandria to take some rest, leaving Zach, the chief of his staff, to complete what he thought to be the victory. Thinking that he had nothing more to do but to pursue the retreating troops, Zach placed himself at the head of a column of six thousand grenadiers to carry St. Juliano, the last position of the French. Bonaparte, until then fighting to avoid defeat, now began to strive for victory. Desaix had arrived; Lannes occupied the right wing, while Victor rallied his scattered troops in his rear. When Zach reached St. Juliano his column was received by a discharge of twelve pieces, suddenly unmasked. At the same time Desaix (born 1768) rushed forward at the head of his division and was killed. His soldiers seeing this, swooped down upon the enemy and broke in the head of his column, whilst the younger Kellermann, with eight hundred horse, hurled himself against Zach's flank, and in a few minutes scattered the Austrian grenadiers, compelling two thousand to surrender with their leader. This decided the fate of the battle; the remains of the corps of Lannes and Victor pushed to the front. In less than an hour the plain which cost the Austrians eight hours' fighting was retaken; they fled in the greatest disorder, and recrossed the Bormida, leaving behind them three thousand prisoners, seven thousand killed and wounded, and forty guns. The French losses were scarcely less, the most irreparable of which was Desaix, a truly great captain, of whom it might indeed be said, that

he was unsurpassed in time of victory, but unequalled in time of defeat.

Melas hopelessly crushed, with no other retreat than Genoa, and the road thither even disputed by Suchet, asked for an armistice, which was signed at Alessandria, leaving to the French the whole of the country between the Alps and the Mincio—the Austrians retiring behind this river—in addition to Alessandria, Turin, Milan, Genoa, Savona, Coni, Tortona, Pizzighettone, and some other fortresses (16th June). Bonaparte had no need to ask if France was satisfied with her army. The enthusiasm was boundless; Marengo had put the seal of legitimacy on the 18th of Brumaire.

In Germany, Moreau manœuvred in vain for a month to draw Kray from his entrenched camp at Ulm. Tired of this, he pushed his right wing forward, took Augsburg, and thus closed the right bank of the Danube to his adversary, then came back, keeping along the shores of the Lech, from Ulm to Donauwörth, crossed it on several points, crushed the Austrian's right wing in a series of engagements called the battle of Höchstadt, and threatened to cut off the return of Kray to Vienna by the left bank of the Danube, as he had done by the right (19th June).

The Austrians, compelled to leave Ulm, rapidly pushed on to Nördlingen, by way of Neresheim, from whence they endeavoured to surprise Moreau in the rear. They were outmanœuvred and hopelessly beaten in several successive engagements; but the news of the Convention of Alessandria having reached Germany,

Kray demanded a suspension of hostilities, which Moreau granted by the armistice of Parsdorf (15th July).

From the field of Marengo the First Consul offered Austria a treaty of peace on the basis of that of Campo-Formio. Negotiations had already commenced, and preliminaries been signed, when the Austrian Emperor broke them off; and after five months' interval, hostilities recommenced (12th November).

The imperial army of the Danube, re-equipped by means of British subsidies, was increased to a hundred thousand troops, and confided to the Archduke John. The left was covered by thirty thousand men under Hiller in the Tyrol; its right supported by twenty thousand soldiers posted from Ratisbon to Aschaffenburg under Klenau and Simbschen. The opposing forces were nearly equal in numbers. Moreau, posted with a hundred thousand troops between the Iser and the Inn, had his flanks covered on the right by fifteen thousand men, commanded by Macdonald, destined to penetrate through the Grisons into the Tyrol, and who could, by crossing the Splugen, connect the army of Italy with that of the Danube. Moreau's left was protected by twenty thousand troops under Augereau, who were to act against the army of Klenau, and hold Bohemia in check. Hostilities were commenced by Augereau, who took Aschaffenburg, blockaded Schweinfurth and Würtzburg, defeated the Austrians before Nuremburg, and pushed his right on to Ingoldstadt. Meanwhile, the Archduke John took the offensive, crossed the Inn at Mühldorf, manœuvred

on his left to find some point of attack, and succeeded in ousting the French army from their position at Ampfing. Emboldened by this success, he threw his centre into the forest of Hohenlinden by the high road from Mühldorf to Munich, which forms an almost impracticable pass. His infantry led the van, after which came his artillery, last his cavalry; his right and left supports advancing through adjacent and parallel paths (2nd December). Moreau's right was covered by Lecourbe, confronting Hiller on the upper Inn; his left, posted on the Danube, was watching Klenau. He placed himself with the Ney division near the principal outlet of the forest, instructed Grenier to repulse the enemy on the left, and ordered Richepanse and Decaen, with ten thousand men, to advance by cross-roads to the right from Ebersberg on to Mattenpott, and take the Austrian centre in the rear. The whole of the movements were carried out with the utmost boldness, resulting in the complete defeat of the Austrians, who fled beyond the Inn, with the loss of six thousand killed, sixteen thousand prisoners, and a hundred guns.

This victory was succeeded by so many others that the Austrians, terror-stricken, begged the Archduke Charles to take the command, in order to make a last effort. But it was too late. When this prince saw the state to which the army had been reduced, he implored the Emperor to sue for peace, and demanded an armistice (25th December), which Moreau, who had meanwhile arrived at Steyer, granted, on condition that Austria

should treat for itself, without any reference to and separately from England, and that the conquered places in the Tyrol and Bavaria should be handed over to France.

Though less brilliant and decisive, the operations of the army of Italy were scarcely less successful in their results. Naples being threatened again with invasion, the Queen implored the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, upon which Bonaparte consented to an armistice, signed at Foligno (February 6th, 1801), and by which the Neapolitan ports were closed to the English, and Taranto, the ancient Tarentum, handed over to the French till a general peace should have been concluded.

This was the last important event in the Continental war. The negotiations begun at Lunéville between Joseph Bonaparte and the Count von Cobentzel resulted in a peace between France and Austria, on the basis of the treaty of Campo-Formio; with this great difference, however, that the Emperor signed, not only in his name and for his own particular states, but also for the whole of the German Empire (9th February, 1801). Though a violation of the laws of the Empire, Bonaparte insisted upon this, in order to avoid a renewal of the Congress of Rastadt. The left bank of the Rhine and the Belgian provinces were once more ceded to France; the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetic, and Batavian Republics recognised as independent; the Pope reinstated in his territories; Tuscany taken from the Grand Duke and ceded to France, to change it into a Kingdom of Etruria for the son of the Duke of Parma. It was agreed that the Grand Duke of Tuscany

and the dispossessed German princes should obtain indemnities from Germany itself by the transfer of some ecclesiastical principalities. Of the King of Piedmont, who was thus legitimately dispossessed, there was no question whatever. The King of Naples made his own peace with France by the treaty of Florence (28th March), which merely confirmed the conditions of the armistice of Foligno. Soult, with ten thousand troops, occupied Taranto, Otranto, and Brindisi.

The second Coalition being thus dissolved, England alone remained in arms, and had to struggle, not only against France, but almost against the half of Europe, on account of her claim to search neutral vessels for contraband of war and the right of blockading hostile ports by cruising squadrons. Bonaparte, as soon as he had become First Consul, lifted the embargo from all neutral vessels detained in French ports and declared that the Republic returned to the less stringent rules of 1780. Upon this the neutrals awoke from their lethargy, and the United States signed a treaty with France, considered one of the most remarkable instruments of modern diplomacy, and which was hailed by many nations as a complete code of maritime law. Sweden and Denmark proclaimed anew the principle anent the liberty of the seas, "that the flag covers the merchandise." They were supported by Paul I., who induced Prussia to follow his example, and the renewal of the old liberal treaty of 1780 was even spoken of. About this time (25th July, 1800) a Danish frigate, which escorted a convoy, was taken by the English.

Denmark demanded reparation. This was only partly granted by the Cabinet of St. James's, which maintained that all neutrals were bound to submit to be overhauled by English men-of-war. This declaration was supplemented by an order for a general embargo to be laid on all vessels belonging to any of the confederate powers, and by the issuing of letters of marque. In this way about four hundred vessels were captured, whilst the Swedish and Danish colonies were taken possession of. Twenty-five British ships had been despatched to the Sound; an English fleet bombarded Ferrol and Cadiz; another blockaded Genoa; a third descended on the Dutch coasts; a fourth carried an army into Egypt; a fifth had compelled Malta to capitulate after a siege of two years (5th September, 1800). At that time England possessed one hundred and eighty-five line-of-battle ships, two hundred and fifty frigates, and three hundred smaller vessels; she blockaded all the coasts with an almost impenetrable chain of cruisers, and paralysed the small French squadrons and those of her Allies in their ports.

Meanwhile the four great northern Powers had placed an embargo on all English ships and property. Paul I., with his usual impetuosity, had embraced the cause of the neutrals, and by his advice a treaty, modelled on that of 1780, had been signed by the four states, aiming at preserving the liberty of the seas and resisting the search by belligerents. This was tantamount to a declaration of war against Great Britain. Immediately a Danish division occupied Hamburg,

and closed the Elbe to English ships; the Prussians invaded Hanover and blocked the Weser and the Ems; the King of Sweden collected twenty thousand men; finally Paul proposed to the Allies to unite themselves with France, having already intimated to the Pretender to leave Mittau. In an autograph letter he asked Bonaparte for thirty thousand men, who, joined to forty thousand Russians, should push for India by way of the Caucasus and Persia. Bonaparte was overjoyed at this. Pitt's genius calculated accurately the greatness of the danger—the whole of the Continent was either disarmed or hostile to England; but as he had pledged himself to attempt the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, to which project he found the King inflexibly opposed, he retired from office, and was succeeded by Mr. Addington, subsequently known as Lord Sidmouth. The hostilities on the seas nevertheless continued; the ministers had changed, not the principles. The government remained in the hands of the Tories, but Tories not quite so staunch as their predecessors, who could make peace without dishonour; and for this peace they prepared themselves by a vigorous opposition to the northern Coalition, in order to obtain moderate conditions after having vanquished them, and by these means to isolate France.

The quadruple alliance prepared its armaments, but as yet had no fleet on the seas; the British Cabinet resolved to forestall it. A fleet of fifty-two sail, commanded by Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, entered the Sound. A terrible engagement took place (April 2nd)

before Copenhagen, which was defended by ten men-of-war, eleven floating batteries, and two citadels. The Danes offered the greatest resistance, and though the English remained the victors, they had suffered severely, and offered an armistice, which was eagerly accepted by the Prince Regent of Denmark, who had just received the secret news of an event which completed the English successes. Paul I. had been assassinated by his courtiers (23rd March).

His death changed the aspect of things in Europe. Alexander, his son, who had helped to plot against his father, was proclaimed Emperor by the murderers. He hastened to reinstate the nobles in their privileges, and announced his intention of governing on the principles of Catherine the Great. Having communicated his pacific intentions to England, negotiations were begun between the two countries, resulting in Russia deserting the cause of the neutrals (17th June). Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia renewed their relations with England without having settled the contested point, leaving France once more alone in the struggle.

Paul's death overthrew all Bonaparte's plans. He openly accused England of having instigated the murder, and at a loss to find a vulnerable place outside her territory, resolved to carry the war to her own ground. For this purpose extraordinary preparations were made to descend upon the English coasts. They were frustrated by Nelson, who attacked the flotilla moored off the French coast, but though he failed in carrying away any of the vessels, which were chained together, the

exploit was serviceable; first, because it convinced Bonaparte of the almost insuperable difficulties of crossing the Channel; secondly, because it taught England that France was a foe not to be lightly despised. Both countries saw that peace was necessary. Negotiations were commenced in London (14th April), extending over a twelvemonth, during which France continued the struggle with the last two allies of England, Portugal and Turkey.

The former was soon disposed of. By virtue of a treaty between the Republic and the Cabinet of Madrid, forty thousand Spaniards entered Portuguese territory (6th June), and compelled the King, who was accused of having allowed his country to become not only a British factory, but an arsenal, to close his ports against the English. In order to make this measure more stringent, French troops occupied two Portuguese provinces.

Some time before this, while the expedition to England was being incubated, important events had happened in Egypt. Kléber, always more or less dissatisfied, especially since Bonaparte's departure, had written a letter to the Directory in which the proceedings of his former commander were severely criticised. This letter had fallen into the hands of the English, but had not been sent by them to Bonaparte until some four or five months later, when they were firmly convinced that the First Consul would not reinstate the Bourbons in France. Meanwhile, the Porte had collected a new army of forty thousand men. Under the command of the Grand Vizier, they advanced from Damascus on Gaza. Kléber,

anxious to return to France, opened negotiations, and through the mediation and with the concurrence of Sidney Smith, commanding the English fleet, a Convention had been concluded at El-Arish (24th January, 1800), by which it was stipulated that the French army should return to France, with its arms and baggage. When the news of this capitulation reached England some three months had elapsed since Bonaparte assumed his new position, and far from paving the way for the restoration of Louis XVIII., he appeared determined to consolidate the results of the 18th of Brumaire to his own advantage. Instructions had been sent sixteen days before the signing of the Convention to Admiral Keith, announcing that the British Government would agree to no capitulation. Sidney Smith had treated without possessing the power to do so, and as Kléber had already yielded the principal places to the Turks, and whilst he was journeying with his army to the coast, he was summoned to surrender at discretion. Kléber no sooner heard this, than he marched with ten thousand troops against the Turks, who had advanced as far as Matarieh, near the ruins of Heliopolis, where he defeated and routed them (20th March, 1800). Everything fell into the hands of the French, and the vanquished Turks, attempting to rally, were beaten a second time at Balbeis, upon which the Grand Vizier, abandoned almost by every one, fled to Gaza. Kléber came back to Cairo, and, after ten days' bombarding, took the town, which Ibrahim Bey had endeavoured to defend with fifteen thousand men. The country submitted, the French

occupied their former positions, Mourad Bey concluded a convention with Kléber, in virtue of which he was allowed to retain the command of Upper Egypt, and the old project of French colonisation was once more revived. Affairs were progressing. Kléber, rendered more cautious, displayed the greatest activity, when, unfortunately, he fell, murdered by the hand of a fanatical Turk, on the same day that his fellow-general, Desaix, was killed at Marengo.

Menou, the governor of Cairo, the oldest of the generals of division, a good administrator but an indifferent soldier, succeeded him, and continued the work of his predecessor, in endeavouring to amalgamate the French and Egyptians, and in fostering the commerce of the East. In the meanwhile, twenty thousand British troops who had assembled at Minorca, and were intended to invade Provence, had now landed near Alexandria, while thirty thousand Turks marched for Syria, supplemented by seven thousand Sepoys from Calcutta, who came to occupy Cosseir, in Upper Egypt.

Since Bonaparte had assumed power he showed himself anxious for the fate of his companions left behind, and often attempted to send them reinforcements and money by means of single vessels, which escaped the English cruisers. At the news of the English expedition he despatched from Toulon seven vessels under Gantheaume, carrying five thousand troops, but after three months, these vessels returned to port, the admiral, from a want of daring, being unable to fulfil his mission.

Menou, cut off from all aid, could not withstand

three separate armies marching to attack him. He lost time, was badly seconded by Reynier, and was at last obliged, in common with General Belliard, to capitulate (June 27th and August 30th), on the basis of the former treaty of El-Arish.

The same day, when the news of this capitulation arrived in the mother-country, the preliminaries of the peace between England and France were signed, resulting in a final treaty concluded five months later at Amiens (27th March, 1802), by which England relinquished all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad; Malta, which had been captured in September, 1800, being given back to the Knights of St. John, while France retained her vast acquisitions on the Continent.

Though the war had secured to England the Empire of India and the mastery of the sea, it was not to be denied that the acquisition of two islands was too dearly bought at the price of ten years of efforts and an enormously accumulated debt. The Revolution, on the contrary, was left master of Belgium, the provinces of the Rhine, Italy, and had under its protectorate Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. The English war party was very indignant, and declared that such a treaty was a sentence of death to the country, and the triumph of the Jacobins. The English people, however, considered it in a different light. They hailed the peace as a triumph of the democracy, and when the French envoy arrived in London to exchange the ratifications, the horses were unharnessed from his carriage, which was drawn by the populace.

§ II. THE FUTURE EMPEROR.

(*From 25th March*, 1802, *to* 18*th May*, 1804.)

PROSPERITY seemed to have returned to France with the attainment of the lofty political situation she now occupied in consequence of the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. Progress was visible on all sides, more especially in the agricultural districts, where the soil, free and divided among laborious hands, was yielding abundant crops. The scandals of the Directory had to a great extent ceased, manners and customs were becoming more polished. The people, scarcely paying any heavy taxes, were returning to their industries, which, forced by the necessities of the country to seek resources in the interior, had engendered marvels in the way of scientific and chemical discoveries. The public revenue was regular, the administration, freed from political upheavings, continued the even tenor of its way, wholesale waste and bribery had been stopped, partial economy was practised, Bonaparte's own example in that respect bearing good fruit. His genius was equal to the requirements of peace as well as to the emergencies of war. Everything had to be created anew in this society just emerging from chaos; and the First Consul showed himself competent to the task.

The greatest of his personal achievements undoubtedly was the reform of the laws dealing with property and family institutions—the Civil Code. What the monarchy had dreamt, what the Constituent Assembly had attempted, was, if not accomplished, at

least fostered, by one man. This magnificent monument of modern legislation, still serving as a model in our days, was the work of three years, and was finally completed and promulgated on the 21st March, 1803.

The glory and the good results of the Consular Government had for the greatest part disarmed the violence of the Opposition, but there still remained two extreme and incorrigible factions—the Jacobins and the Royalists—who, since the Revolution had resolved itself into one man, directed all their plots against him, notwithstanding the vigilance of the police reorganised under Fouché. Bonaparte was more lenient towards the one than towards the other of these factions. He hated the Jacobins, while he endeavoured to conciliate the Royalists. Of the two attempts plotted against his life the palm of crime must be accorded to those who pretended to be inspired by a moral and religious cause.

A First attempt had been projected by the Jacobins to murder the First Consul while he was at the Opera, but it was never brought into execution, and its contrivers were arrested and put to death (October 10th, 1800). The second, framed by the Royalists, among whom, rumour said, were Georges Cadoudal and several of his zealous partisans, was more carefully concocted. A barrel of gunpowder, containing projectiles, was placed on a cart blocking the Rue St. Nicaise. Scarcely had the carriage of the Consul passed to go to the theatre (24th December, 1801) when a terrific explosion shook the whole of the quarter,

destroying several houses and killing and wounding more than fifty persons. The assassins escaped at first; but Napoleon pretended that the plot was the work of the Jacobins, and had one hundred and fifty persons illegally transported, and five executed. Though Bonaparte was perfectly justified in punishing this criminal attempt against his life, the illegal measures which he took plainly foreshadowed in which way the Republic was marching. No check, however slight, was suffered upon his power. This was shown in his openly expressed disgust at a very mild and moderate opposition in the Tribunate, and little by little those who displayed opinions of their own were eliminated to make room for men entirely devoted to him. With a Tribunate thus purified, a Senate which was simply a machine for promulgating decrees, and a Legislative reduced to a ridiculous dumb-show, Bonaparte was enabled to continue his social reconstruction by the boldest measures. According to him the Revolution was a thing of the past, the 18th of Brumaire the date of a new era; and, therefore, there should be no looking behind. Acting upon these principles, he contemplated, planned, and, later on, proposed several measures which were to reconcile Republican France to Monarchical France, and pave the way for the establishment of Napoleon's throne.

About this time a great writer, Châteaubriand (1768–1848) contributed much to the revival of religious worship, which, though never absolutely abandoned, had suffered greatly from the attacks of the philosophers of

the eighteenth century, and the subsequent decrees of the Revolution. Bonaparte himself professed no particular faith; but he never withheld his respect and toleration from those who held, or were supposed to hold, sincere convictions. From the first moment of his elevation he was resolved to build the new society upon a Christian foundation. It was a difficult enterprise, and one for which he could not even depend on the co-operation of the clergy, who were divided into two parties, namely, those who had refused to take the oath to the Constitution, and those who had taken that oath. They were inspired by a mutual hatred, though equally protected by the Government. Two vain attempts had already been made to effect a reconciliation between them; and finally Bonaparte sought to end the schism by asking the Pope to interfere.

Pius VII. had eagerly responded to the invitation, and sent as his Nuncio Cardinal Gonsalvi, who had concluded a Concordat, by which the Roman Catholic religion was recognised as the faith of the French nation (15th July, 1801). The ancient episcopal sees were abolished and a re-distribution completed, in which the priests who had taken the oath to the Constitution gained the victory.

This had caused severe murmurs from the Revolutionary party, unheeded by Bonaparte, who knew that he acted according to the Constitution, and even according to the Revolution. He had also a decree passed granting an amnesty to all *émigrés* (26th April 1802), on condition that they should return before

the 1st Vendémiaire of the year XI. (September 23rd, 1802); that they should take an oath not to keep up any correspondence with the Bourbons, and be placed under surveillance for ten years. From this measure were excepted the avowed chiefs of the civil wars, those who had occupied a grade in foreign armies, and the former bishops who had refused to resign. The *émigrés* were to be reinstated in their property if it had remained unsold, save the forest and lands reserved for public services and those domains which constituted a claim upon the national debt. A university was also created (May 1st), by which the whole of the education of the nation was entirely placed in the hands of the Government.

The amnesty to the *émigrés* being a direct violation of the Constitution, was regarded by all attached to the Revolution as an apostacy; those who had purchased land conceived the greatest fears, the Republicans were indignant, and looked upon it as a protest against the million of men who had perished in fighting the allies of the foreigner. Bonaparte persisted. "There must be," he said, "intermediate classes between the people and the powers. To establish the Republic definitely some lumps of old granite should be mixed with the sand." The proposal to create the Legion of Honour met also with much opposition, as it was thought this order was accompanied by attributes which might form the beginning of a hereditary nobility; but it was finally adopted (19th May).

All these acts prepared public opinion for the end of the Republic, nothing was spoken of but to remit the

supreme power in the hands of Bonaparte; and when the Tribunate received the news of the treaty of Amiens, it expressed the wish that the First Consul should receive "a signal proof of the nation's gratitude." The Senate deliberated and rendered a decree, by which Bonaparte was re-elected in advance First Consul for ten years (11th May). Under the pretext of being dissatisfied, he decreed an appeal to the nation, and in a consular proclamation, put the question in this way, "Shall Bonaparte be appointed Consul for life?" Upon which all the municipal registers were open to record the citizens' votes, and a very large majority voted for the Consulate for life.

This new change, destroying the former Constitution, Bonaparte undertook to frame a new one, by which he himself became the constituent power. According to this Constitution, the cantonal assemblies should select from a list of six hundred of the highest rated citizens the members forming the electoral colleges of the arrondissements and departments. These members were elected for life; they in their turn proposed two candidates for the Tribunate, the Senate, and the Legislative. The Consuls were elected for life, and presided over the Senate. The First Consul could choose his successor, he also had the prerogative of granting pardon. The Senate regulated, on the proposals of the Government, everything that had not been provided for by the Constitution; it could annul the sentences of law courts, suspend the Constitution in certain departments, dissolve the Legislative. The Tribunate was

reduced to fifty members divided into three sections; the proposed laws were submitted to one section only, and discussed between its delegates and those of the Council of State, and then they passed immediately to the Legislative. The Council of State was recognised as a constituted body, and composed of fifty members. All these measures passed without opposition. The great mass of the Republicans, unjustly classed with the Jacobins, though regretting the gradual disappearance of a Republic, such as they had dreamt of, were sincerely grateful for the good already accomplished by the First Consul, and forgave him much in consequence. The Royalists still cherished the hope that Bonaparte would prove a second Monk. The people idolised in him the child of the Revolution, who had conquered Europe and made the name of France feared everywhere.

Thus in reality an elective monarchy was established, it wanted but a few steps to an hereditary monarchy. The rupture of the peace of Amiens made these few steps comparatively easy to take.

France, by her geographical position and lately acquired power, necessarily exercised a kind of patronage over the neighbouring states. This patronage had for ages been tacitly admitted, and had only been disputed when she found herself isolated through her Revolutionary tendencies, which compelled her simply to confront coalesced Europe. Hence the necessity of propagating her principles in order to find allies, which should cover her frontiers. With Bonaparte this patronage assumed the aspect of real dominion,

and caused Europe to grow anxious at so vast an ambition.

Of the republics created by Bonaparte Holland had been the first to change her Constitution for a new one (October 17th, 1801), inspired by the First Consul. The Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics followed the example and modified their Constitutions (January and June, 1802). To Piedmont and to the duchies of Parma and Tuscany befell a different fate. Piedmont, at first divided into six departments under French administration, was afterwards formally united to France (13th September, 1802). The duchy of Parma remained provisionally under the sway of the old Duke, but at his death it was placed under French administration. Tuscany had been erected into a kingdom for Louis I., son of the Duke of Parma, and married to an Infanta of Spain, but the island of Elba was incorporated with France.

For the last three years the Helvetian Republic had been a prey to great internal troubles, arising from her Constitution, which was objected to by the Federalists and small cantons, and modified several times under French direction. It did not, however, satisfy the partisans of the old state of things, who relied upon the support of Austria. Bonaparte, who had offered his advice without result, was at last constrained, by the clauses of the Lunéville treaty, to withdraw his troops. This proved the signal for a civil war, in which the insurgents invoked the aid of England (September 20th, 1802), while the Government asked for the assistance of Bonaparte. The

latter proclaimed his willingness to act as mediator, and sent twenty thousand troops to occupy the country. The disturbances ceased, and a council of fifty-six deputies assembled at Paris to frame a new Constitution. The First Consul gave them very sagacious advice. A defensive alliance placed Switzerland under the protection of France (11th February, 1803), a protection enjoyed since Francis I. The old military engagements with the cantons were renewed, and sixteen thousand Swiss entered the French ranks. The Valais was erected into an independent state, under the protection of the three neighbouring republics, whilst the great military road of the Simplon was also placed under the guardianship of France.

The peace of Lunéville had dispossessed many of the German princes, and led to a series of intrigues, most successfully unravelled by Bonaparte; but which made the name of "the Roman empire" henceforth a fiction, until at last the very expression disappeared, so that the house of Austria found her power much reduced.

The regulation of the indemnities in Germany, the alliance with Switzerland, the annexation of Piedmont, had given France the most prominent voice in the affairs of Europe, but this was not sufficient for Bonaparte; he wanted her to regain her lost place on the seas, and while she was renewing her foreign trade, he planned the recovery of her colonial power. With this intention he despatched his countryman, Colonel Sebastiani, to the Ionian Islands, Egypt, and Syria, to renew the

commercial relations of France with the Levant; induced Spain to sell Louisiana to the United States; sent General Decaen and Admiral Linois to India to breathe new life in the remains of the French colonies; finally, he sought to bring back St. Domingo under French dominion.

The history of that colony had been very dreadful.[1] Since the year 1790, when the Constituent Assembly had decreed that the political status of the coloured race should be left to the initiative of the colonial legislature, there had been incessant strife in St. Domingo between the mulattos and the whites, of which the former had profited to murder their masters. The Legislative Assembly had repealed the decree, but the settlers refused to obey, and the mulattos and blacks made common cause against them. A scene of unparalleled massacre ensued, which the Convention had aided by proclaiming the abolition of slavery (February 4th, 1794). The whites had called in the aid of the English, while the mulattos and blacks remained attached to France, though refusing to obey her delegates, and meanwhile working at their own independence. The mulattos, headed by Rigaud, a partisan of the authorities, became masters of the south; the negroes, under Toussaint-Louverture, who called himself "the Spartacus destined to avenge his race," were masters of the north. This combination soon achieved the destruction of the whites, and ejected the English, who had spent millions in order to possess themselves of a few places. The Directory despatched General Hédouville, whom Tous-

[1] See book i. chap. ii., sec. 2, p. 132; and book ii. chap. i., sec. 2, p. 307.

saint compelled to re-embark. The French general had delegated his powers to Rigaud, against whom Toussaint declared an implacable war. Meanwhile dawned the 18th of Brumaire. Bonaparte, seeing that the negroes were superior in strength and in numbers, deserted the cause of the half-civilised and semi-French mulattos, and decreed that France recognised the freedom and liberty of the blacks. Rigaud, in despair, fled to France; the mulatto party dispersed, leaving Toussaint master of the island. The conqueror was a man of genius; he had learned to read at the age of fifty-four. Assuming the title of the Bonaparte of the Antilles, he made himself master of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, re-established and improved cultivation, protected the whites, kept the blacks under the severest discipline, divided the plantations among his soldiers, and gave the colony a constitution, by which he had himself appointed governor for life (1st July, 1801). This was tantamount to a declaration of independence. Bonaparte felt indignant. Deceived by the old colonists, he did not understand the import of the St. Domingo revolution; he merely considered the blacks as revolted slaves, and resolved to regain by force of arms a colony so important to French trade. The moment peace was signed with England he despatched his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, with a formidable fleet of eighty vessels and twenty-two thousand troops, and instructed him secretly to reopen the cause of the mulattos, to disarm the blacks, and reduce them once more to slavery. Toussaint-Louverture prepared for

resistance, burned everything which he could not defend, but was at last compelled to surrender, and retired to one of his domains. The peace was an insincere one, the blacks were merely awaiting the effects of the yellow fever on the French, and they resolved upon recommencing hostilities on learning the fate of their fellow-blacks of Guadaloupe (7th May, 1802), who were reduced to slavery after Bonaparte had declared them free. The second insurrection was frustrated, and Toussaint (born 1743) conducted to France, where he died two years afterwards, at the castle of St. Joux. "In overthrowing me, they have only cut down the trunk of the liberty of the blacks of St. Domingo, the roots will shoot forth afresh," he said. His prophecy was fulfilled. The yellow fever decimated the French to such a degree that out of the thirty-four thousand troops lately collected in the island there remained but nine thousand five hundred, seven thousand of whom were in the hospitals. Toussaint's old generals, Christophe and Dessalines, revolted again, hostilities recommenced with all their accompanying atrocities, and the French were obliged to fly to the towns on the coast. Leclerc died, and was succeeded by Rochambeau, who allowed himself to be influenced by the colonists against every man of colour. He persecuted the mulattos, who united with the blacks; and, frustrated in all his attempts, notwithstanding the reinforcements he received, he was at last obliged to retire to Cape Town, where he was besieged. At that moment the rupture between France and England commenced. While the French were fighting the negroes

on land they were blockaded by the British squadrons, and had no alternative but to surrender either to the English or to the blacks. Rochambeau, forced by Dessalines to capitulate, embarked with the remains of his army, but was captured by the English (30th November, 1803). St. Domingo was irretrievably lost to the French; the island took the title of the Haitean Republic; the blacks declared their independence, and appointed Dessalines (1760–1806) governor for life (1st January, 1804).

The causes of the fresh rupture between England and France had been manifold. The English newspapers were full of invective against France and Bonaparte, whilst it was said that English gold supported the *émigrés* who intrigued in London, and that British agents fomented discord on the Continent. Finally, England incessantly declaimed against the violation of treaties, because Bonaparte had accepted the presidency of the Italian Republic, had mediated between the Swiss cantons, had annexed Piedmont, and had regulated the German indemnities. Bonaparte replied that the presidency of the Italian Republic had been conferred on him, that the annexation of Piedmont had occurred *de facto* previous to the treaty of Amiens, and that England had not objected to it in this treaty. As for the Swiss and German objections, England had no concern with them, as they properly formed a part of the treaty of Lunéville, while the sole contracting party, the emperor of Germany, had congratulated Bonaparte on

the part he had played in the Swiss cantons, and had treated with him in the name of the German Confederation. And Bonaparte recriminated upon England, that, whilst France had evacuated Naples and Portugal, England, contrary to the formal and official stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, still kept Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and Goree. Finally, he asked that the English ministry should cease to insult him in its journals, that it should expel the Bourbons, Georges Cadoudal, and other *émigrés*, convicted of murder, and that it should fully execute the treaty of Amiens.

To this the cabinet of St. James's replied by vague accusations, pointing to the doings of Sebastiani in the Levant, and at last declaring that it would delay the evacuation of Malta, and of the other possessions. Negotiations were opened on the subject, and though both sides were equally bitter, no one imagined that the possession of that island would lead to another terrible war. But the English King suddenly asked for subsidies and troops, on account of the considerable preparations going on in the French and Dutch ports. After a most violent and passionate speech addressed by Bonaparte to the English ambassador, the latter demanded his passports and left Paris (13th May, 1803). Immediately the English Admiralty placed an embargo on the French and Dutch ships, and despatched its squadrons on all sides, pursuing and capturing those vessels which were still crossing the seas, ignorant of what had happened. Bonaparte thereupon passed a decree, ordering the arrest of all

male subjects of the British crown found in France, and had them detained as hostages, until those Frenchmen who were taken before the declaration of war should have been liberated.

Bonaparte now took the most energetic measures. The Continent was closed to the English; he prohibited the landing of any English merchandise in French ports; and any ship coming from British ports, or which had touched at any harbour of Great Britain, was declared liable to seizure. He reoccupied all the old positions previous to the treaty of Amiens.' Fifteen thousand troops, commanded by Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, entered the kingdom of Naples, and occupied Taranto, Otranto, and Brindisi (14th June). The former place was fortified, and became the naval arsenal of Italy; Tuscany was filled with troops, and her defence organised in combination with that of the islands of Elba and Corsica. Alessandria became an entrenched camp for a whole army. Holland was occupied by thirty thousand men, and its fleet sheltered at Hellevoetsluys. Finally, fourteen thousand troops entered Hanover and forced a nearly equal number of men to capitulate; the Hanoverian soldiers retired to their homes, while the officers constituted themselves prisoners on parole. Four hundred guns, thirty thousand muskets, three millions of cartridges, fell into the hands of the French; the mouths of the Ems and the Weser were closed against English trade, and Bonaparte declared that he would keep Hanover as long as the English kept Malta.

England and France vied in formidable preparations. Notwithstanding the former's possessions of five hundred and eleven ships of war, six hundred and eighty gunboats, and close upon six hundred thousand men in militia, land and sea forces, the ministry endeavoured to avert any possible danger by seeking an alliance with the powers of the north, who had already protested against the invasion of Naples and Hanover. The offer of an alliance found favour in Russia, where the aristocracy felt a bond of sympathy with the English one. Less openly, though not less warmly, was the proposal received at the court of Vienna; it shook even for a moment the resolves of Prussia, and prevented that power from accepting the overtures of Bonaparte, who promised Hanover in return for Prussia's alliance. Finally, the English cabinet addressed itself to the secondary powers. It was sure of Naples; it made a treaty with Sweden, whose ruler was in the thralls of Russia. Portugal had derived wisdom from her late experience; she declared herself neutral, and paid a tribute of twelve million francs to France; Spain, wavering, was intimidated by Bonaparte, and bound to furnish to France an annual sum of seventy-two million francs, and to declare herself neutral.

The Coalition was started, but could not begin operations as yet. In the meanwhile the English cabinet endeavoured to revive the revolt in the Vendée, while it is said—but not with much proof—to have allowed plots to be hatched against Bonaparte's life, because Pichegru, escaped from Cayenne, and other

enemies of Bonaparte, assembled in London. Pichegru was at the head of the conspiracy. It was agreed that he and Cadoudal should go to Paris, collect thither two hundred Chouans, murder the First Consul, and restore the Bourbons. For this, however, he thought it necessary to have the support of a general who could influence the army, and his eye fell on Moreau, who, since the 18th of Brumaire, had kept up a silent opposition, made himself the centre of the malcontents, and wished to be looked upon as a Republican persecuted by Cæsar. He lent a willing ear to Pichegru's proposal, but would not accede to the restoration of the Bourbons. Cadoudal, Pichegru, the two brothers Polignac, Rivière, and several others, embarked successively on board an English vessel, which landed them at Dieppe, whence they joined each other in Paris (21st August, 1803). At the same time the *émigrés* received orders to assemble on the banks of the Rhine, and some of the great noblemen held themselves in readiness to head the conspirators at a moment's notice. But after a delay of six months the latter had not succeeded either in collecting Chouans or in coming to an understanding with Moreau, who only wanted to overthrow Bonaparte in order to put himself in his place. This delay proved the ruin of the conspiracy. The police, no longer under Fouché, whom Bonaparte mistrusted on account of his intimacy with the Jacobins, got wind of the affair; it imprisoned one of the conspirators, who divulged the presence of Cadoudal and Pichegru in Paris, as well as the complicity of Moreau.

Bonaparte, had the latter arrested (15th February, 1804). Terror spread through Paris, the whole army of Germany pronounced the report against their general a slander, and public opinion openly accused Bonaparte of wishing to ruin the victor of Hohenlinden, from motives of jealousy. But the police shortly discovered Pichegru, then Cadoudal, the Polignacs, Rivière, and forty-two others. Pichegru denied everything; the former chief of the Chouans confessed his intention of murdering Bonaparte, and declared that he had been only waiting for the arrival of a Bourbon prince to execute his resolution. Moreau, in a humble and inculpating letter, admitted that proposals had been made to him to overthrow the government, which proposals he had rejected, but not revealed, on account of his friendship for Pichegru. The whole of France was indignant; innumerable addresses poured upon Bonaparte, praying him to be careful of his life, which belonged to the nation. A decree of the Senate suspended for two years trial by jury "for crimes of high treason, and attempts upon the life of the First Consul."

Bonaparte was furious. From all sides and at every moment came reports of projected attempts; he imagined that the Bourbons were daily conspiring against his life. Hearing that the Duke d'Enghien was close to the frontier, he had him arrested on the territory of the Duke of Baden, thinking that it was the prince expected by Cadoudal. The Duke was surprised in the middle of the night, carried first to Strasburg, then to Vincennes, given over to a military commission, judged

by a mock-trial, condemned, and shot (21st March). Paris murmured at this iniquitous and barbarous proceeding, but Bonaparte wished to strike terror in the hearts of the Royalists. Many years afterwards he pretended that it was not his intention to have the Duke d'Enghien shot, but that the execution was hastened through the criminal zeal of those who did not await his orders.

On the morrow of this catastrophe, the French official newspaper, the *Moniteur*, attempted to prove the complicity of the English cabinet in all these conspiracies by publishing the letters of Drake and Spencer Smith, the English ambassadors at Munich and Stuttgard; but it was never shown that these ministers paid and directed assassins against the First Consul's life, or maintained secret agents who were instructed to set fire to the powder magazines.

Pichegru, Cadoudal, Moreau, and their accomplices were brought before the criminal tribunal of Paris. Pichegru (born 1761), seeing that his situation was hopeless, is said to have strangled himself in prison. Cadoudal by confessing, endeavoured to exculpate his companions. As for Moreau, no one credited the treachery of so great a citizen. The world regarded the accusation as the result of the First Consul's personal hatred of a famous rival and the last of the Republican generals. Macdonald and the whole army of Germany openly declared the innocence of the accused, and proclaimed everywhere the signal services he had rendered. Bonaparte insisted upon his condemnation, in order to heap

coals of fire on Moreau's head by a commutation of the sentence. Cadoudal (born 1769), Rivière, one of the Polignacs, with seventeen others, were condemned to death; Moreau, Jules de Polignac, and three others imprisoned; fifteen were acquitted. Moreau (1763–1813) asked to change his prison for exile, and went to the United States. It was, however, from the French Emperor, and not from the First Consul, that he obtained this favour. The last effort of the *ancien régime* against the representative of the Revolution raised that representative to the throne.

Bonaparte was fully aware of the inexorable future in store for France. He knew that the rupture of the peace of Amiens meant an endless war between England and his own country. He pretended that for so grand a struggle a consular dictatorship was insufficient, because it inherited from the Directory and Convention something precarious, spasmodic, and disorderly, liable to sudden eruptions. He argued that a more stable, regular, disciplined, and definite government was wanted, that the Revolution had to become incarnate in one man, and that an imperial dictatorship was the last transformation the Revolutionary force should undergo. Almost the whole of the nation shared his opinions, and all minds being disposed to the change, the great bodies of the state hastened to invest it with the stamp of legality. The Senate presented an address to the First Consul, inviting him to give to France institutions which might survive their author, and to "perpetuate for the children

what he had done for the fathers." All the departmental authorities, the tribunals, the army, presented addresses, praying for the establishment of an hereditary government. Finally, the report being spread that the army was about to proclaim Bonaparte Emperor, the Tribunate hastened to take the initiative, and, on the motion of one of its members, petitioned that the government of the Republic should be entrusted to an hereditary Emperor (2nd May). The title of Emperor was selected at the suggestion of the army, in imitation of Cæsar and Charlemagne, to whom Bonaparte was so often compared. The Legislative reiterating the wish, the Senate declared Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French by a decree rendered in a sitting at which the three Consuls were present, and which decree in reality assumed the importance of a new Constitution (18th May).

The imperial dignity was made hereditary in the male line in order of primogeniture. In default of direct heirs, Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were to succeed Napoleon; Lucien and Jérôme having forfeited the right by having contracted marriage without the consent of their brother.

A council of six grand dignitaries was created, which, in reality, was devoid of all power. Joseph Bonaparte, Cambacérès, Eugène Beauharnais, Lebrun, Louis Bonaparte, and Murat were appointed to fill these posts. There was also a creation of grand officers of the empire, amongst whom were marshals, a dignity of the old *régime*, but modified in a popular sense. To

Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefèbvre, Pérignon, and Serrurier, fell these honours. The Legislative power was vested entirely in the Senate and in the Council of State, the Legislative and Tribunate became simply consulting bodies; the national representation belonged in reality to the Government.

The foundation of the imperial *régime* excited much astonishment, but little enthusiasm. The men of 1789, who had seen in the Revolution nothing but the establishment of a Constitution; the men of 1793, who imagined the Revolution finished when the Republic was instituted, were equally grieved at an event that seemed to them a return to the *ancien régime*. This error was justifiable in those who had sacrificed so much to the Revolution. But it should not be forgotten that the Revolution had been less political than social, and as such the imperial *régime* betokened a revolutionary progress. It was the suspension of liberty in favour of a great ambition; but to the advantage of a new state of society, which was likely to be consolidated more completely within, and propagated more quickly abroad, by a military dictatorship. Hereafter we shall find Napoleon commit many grave errors: we shall witness the foundation of a dynasty, the revival of a feudal *noblesse*, the alliance with a daughter of the Cæsars—all this being antagonistic to the Revolution, and but awkwardly justified by the idea that he was the restorer of monarchy. The French nation

and the whole of Europe were not deceived by it. Bonaparte was the military incarnation of the Revolution and Jacobinism; though the cloak of Charlemagne covered his plebeian shoulders, and he wore a crown placed on his head by the idolatry of a great nation.

END OF VOL. I.

CASSELL PETTER & GALPIN, BELLE SAUVAGE WORKS, LONDON, E.C.
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00032083

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018